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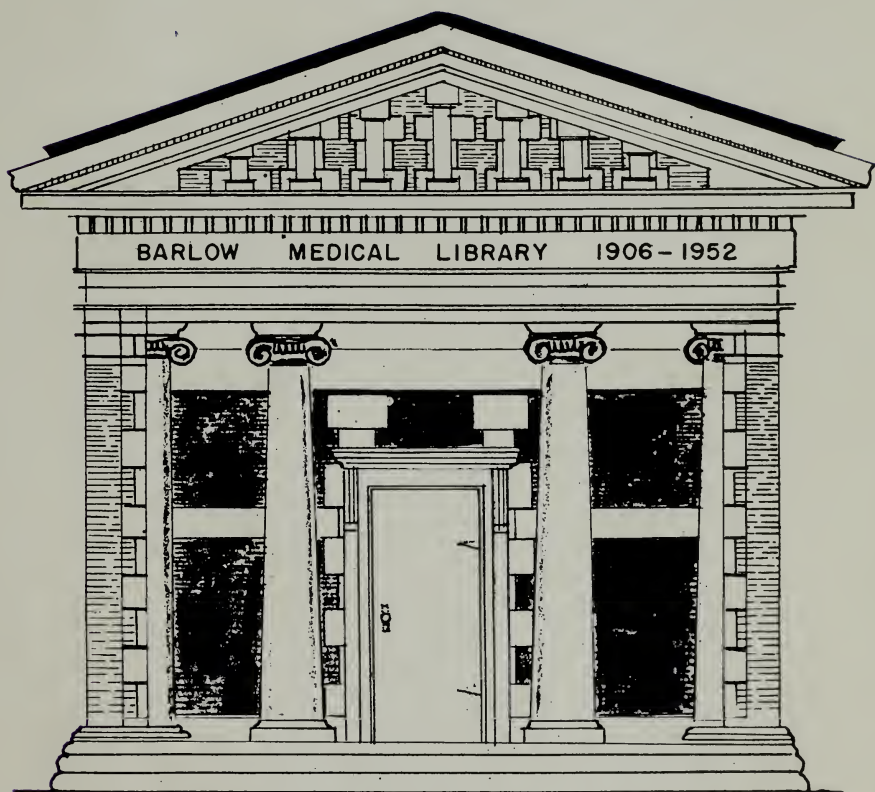
March, 1960

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The

Historical Society of Southern California

QUARTERLY



WALTER JARVIS BARLOW

HISTORY OF MEDICINE COLLECTION

— From the Author's Collection

BARLOW MEMORIAL FUND BOOK PLATE

(See "The Old College of Medicine" — page 41)

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA was organized in 1883, and has enjoyed a record of continuous activity for seventy-seven years. Commencing in 1884, and each year until 1934, the Society issued an ANNUAL Publication. In 1935 the QUARTERLY was initiated. It is published each March, June, September and December.

It is the aim of the Publications Committee to make the QUARTERLY a publication of general historical interest. Suggestions and criticisms are always welcomed, and all persons, whether members of the Society or not, are invited to submit for the consideration of the editors original articles, old letters, documents, maps and other material bearing upon the history and development of this region.

The Society's Purposes and Objectives are:

- To sponsor and encourage observances of historic dates and anniversaries;
- To preserve and protect the archives and historic sites of the Southwest with particular stress on Southern California;
- To assist in the marking and restoration of landmarks which inspire interest and respect for events, persons and customs of the past;
- To promote activity in the conservation of public records, historical documents, newspapers, museum material and related Californiana;
- To preserve, as an aid to business and industry, business records, industrial and transportation history and the use of historic material in public relations;
- To encourage the increased use of history in the schools, to the end that there shall be developed a greater interest in, respect for, and loyalty to our American institutions;
- To publish material of permanent historic interest and significance;
- To assist and encourage all persons and organizations engaged in similar activities;
- To hold regular monthly meetings in Los Angeles (except during the summer months) at which persons of recognized authority in their respective subjects appear as guest speakers, followed by refreshments and a social hour;
- To gather at least once each year in a pilgrimage to some spot of historic significance.

This Society is a public non-profit corporation. The principal sources of revenue for its operations and maintenance are from membership dues, contributions and bequests. It renders a needed public service and is worthy of your support.

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THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

MARGARET J. CASSIDY, *Executive Secretary*

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The
Historical Society of Southern California

QUARTERLY

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The Historical Society of Southern California

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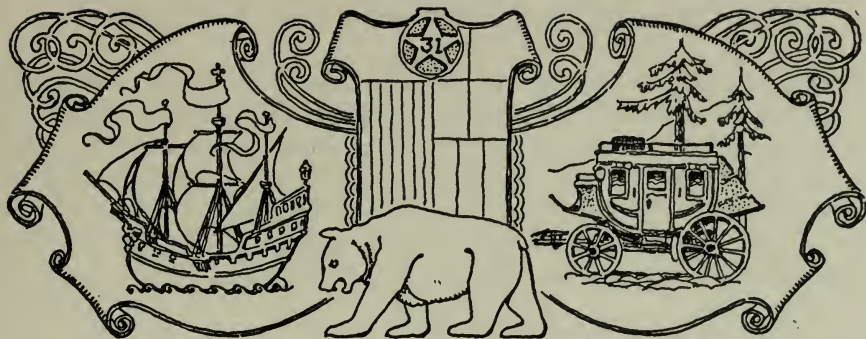
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The Historical Society of Southern California QUARTERLY for March, 1960

The Church by the Plaza

A History of the Pueblo Church of Los Angeles

By J. Thomas Owen

PART I

FOR MANY YEARS the Plaza Church of Los Angeles has been little more than the "oldest church in the city," which unfortunately, it no longer is. Since its dedication in 1822, it has been in almost constant usage, serving the community as a parish church. Yet as the "city's first and principal landmark," there is an appalling lack of good written history anent it, and what there is tends to be scattered, poorly documented, or alarmingly inaccurate. Masquerading behind a Victorian facade, it has often been referred to as "our most notable building of the Spanish period" — a rather difficult motto for anything Victorian to live up to. Comments on the church vary from, it was "not too well planned . . ." or when viewed, it "appeared very much like the average modern Catholic church . . . of our smaller towns," or that "its facade [was] bleak and unattractive." Amid such slander as this — all of which, incidentally, was aimed at the church's present

remodeled appearance — it is small wonder that the old adobe building (with additions) hasn't succumbed to a structure that was either more fashionable or more architectural, rather than remaining in its bleakly remodeled state: a hybrid of Spanish vintage in a Victorian cask. But the choicest of the comments was made to the author some years ago, when he was told not to "waste his time on a church with too little history to be of any interest. . . ."

This is the story of that church.



IN JULY, 1769, Gaspar de Portolá, Fr. Juan Crespi, Fernando de Rivera y Moncada, and Pedro Fages left the newly founded misión of *San Diego de Alcalá* and made their way northward in search of Monterey Bay. "On the second day [of August] they saw a large stream with much good land which they called Porciúncula. . . ." ¹ This was the day when the Franciscans celebrate the Feast of Our Lady of the Angels or "Porciúncula," the feast of the "Little Portion." ² The expedition pressed northward, but the name remained — the River of the Little Portion, and in the years to come would influence the naming of a settlement on its banks.

Twelve years later, by the formal decree of Governor Felipe de Neve, the pueblo of *Nuestra Señora la Reina de los Angeles de Porciúncula* came into existence. A group of forty-four persons, most of whom had come from Mexico, left misión *San Gabriel* on the fourth of September, 1781, ³ to become the pueblo's first inhabitants. Planned for them in advance were house lot sites, *suertes* — parcels of land outside the pueblo for cultivation which were acquired by "suerte" or chance — and a plaza, two hundred by three hundred feet. The land was free. All the colonists had to do was come, settle, prosper, be good citizens of the province of Alta California — and loyal to the Spanish Crown. . . . So started another of Spain's colonization efforts, but in the case of the tiny pueblo on the Río de Porciúncula, the River of the Little Portion, it was to prove a very successful effort.

Three years after founding the pueblo consisted of a few adobe buildings, and a "church was begun of the same material." ⁴ An early source gives its dimensions as two *varas* (about six feet in height) — these side walls were still under construction, twenty *varas* (about seventy feet) in length, and six *varas* (about twenty feet) in width. ⁵ " . . . on the southern side of this chapel was built a little room which served as a sacristy, and where the priest took his chocolate after mass." ⁶

The Church by the Plaza

Very little is known of this early chapel, and facts relating to it are scarce and their validity is often open to question. According to tradition, this building was located "near the corner of Buena Vista Street and Bellevue Avenue." ⁷ That is to say with the present street arrangement, where Sunset Boulevard and North Broadway intersect, and a news clipping from the *Los Angeles Record* of the 1920's went on to say that there was — and still is — a gas station on this site.⁸

On occasion this chapel was officiated in by the priests from *San Gabriel*, but baptisms, marriages, and most divine services were still conducted at the *misión*; Los Angeles did not yet have a church of its own. The distance to the *misión* was four leagues, about ten miles, which had to be covered either on foot, horse back, or in a *carreta*.

As the pueblo's population continued to grow, their religious needs increased as well. Unfortunately, the number of priests stationed at *San Gabriel* did not increase, and they soon found themselves sorely taxed. Matters reached the problem stage in 1810 when the *Angelenos* made a loud and formal protest through their *comisionado*, Sargeant Xavier Alvarado.⁹ His complaint that the fathers from *San Gabriel* had on two occasions refused sick calls from the pueblo reached Governor José Arillaga. As was the custom, he referred the matter to the *Padre Presidente* of the missions, at that time Fr. Estévan Tapís. The presidente called upon the fathers to give explanation of their actions, even threatening to come to their mission himself and attend the matters in their place. In no uncertain terms he spoke: "For God's sake, attend to the people of the pueblo. If the labor is great, the reward likewise will be great."¹⁰ The two overworked padres replied quickly, pointing out that the needs of their own sick (the indians), their prosperous mission, its ranches and *rancherías* came before the needs of the pueblo, which was "attended out of mere charity."¹¹ Therefore, about 1810, the pueblo applied to the church authorities for a church of its own, and permission was granted.¹²

During all this time the chapel begun in 1784 continued to serve, and was in use when the Ex-Prefecto Vicente Sarría made a canonical visit to Los Angeles in 1813. The overcrowded chapel, doubtlessly more crowded than usual because of his coming, may have been in need of repairs as well. According to the visiting Prefecto Sarría, it was not fit for usage.¹³

After the passing comment of the Ex-Prefecto, Padre Luis Gil y Taboada, newly arrived at *San Gabriel*, espoused the cause of a new church building for the pueblo. Written request to bless and

lay the first stone of the contemplated structure was made by Padre Gil to the Padre Presidente, Fr. José Señan:

Inasmuch as the neighboring pueblo of Los Angeles is under the jurisdiction of the vicariate, and inasmuch as since the last three years permit to build a church has been conceded, the plan has been realized to the extent that the ground has been broken for the foundations. Therefore it is the intention to lay the first stone on the fifteenth of August, on which it celebrates its titular feast. To this end, and it pertains to Your Paternity to empower me, I turn to your goodness to deign to give me the license to bless and lay the said stone according to the Roman Ritual. God keep Your Paternity many years.

San Gabriel
August 12, 1814
Fr. Luis Gil ¹⁴

Padre Presidente Señan replied the following day from misión *San Buenaventura*:

The license of the king, our lord, the patron of all the churches in the Indies, being presumed, in virtue of the facilities granted to me as vicar of the Right Rev. Bishop of Sonora in the district of this province of Alta California, I concede to the Rev. Fr. Luis Gil the license which he solicits, to bless and lay the first stone of the church which they are about to erect in the pueblo of Our Lady of the Angels of Porciuncula. He will proceed in accordance with the Rites which for this solemn blessing the Roman Ritual prescribes. God keep your Reverence many years.

Mission San Buenaventura
August 13, 1814
Fr. Jose Senan ¹⁵

Fortunately, tradition has also given us some idea as to where the *Nueva Iglesia*, the "new church," was to have been built. According to Harris Newmark, this structure was in the vicinity of Aliso Street and the River.¹⁶ This location was also notable as it was the site of the so-called "Woman's Gun." This firearm, buried for a short time, was afterward dug up and used by a group of horsemen at the Battle of the Dominguez Ranch—apparently the burying having no adverse effects on the gun.¹⁷ Although Aliso Street has for the most part been swallowed up by the Freeway system, this location is in the area where Alameda Street passes over the Santa Ana and San Bernardino Freeways. Here again, as with the location of the 1784 chapel, the location is now a matter of tradition, but none the less of interest.

Dedication of the first stone must have taken place as prescribed on the fifteenth of August, 1815, but construction seems not to have progressed much beyond the "first stone stage." When the

The Church by the Plaza

energetic Padre Gil left *San Gabriel* for misión *Santa Cruz*, the burden of the new church building fell on the shoulders of Padre Joaquin Nuez. In July of 1815 the rather discouraged padre lamented by letter on the state of the church building activities in the pueblo to Captain José de la Guerra at *Santa Bárbara*:

Since [Sunday last], the master builder Jose Antonio [Ramirez] has left the mission. I proposed that they should procure two experts to work on the church. I see that if they do not begin [sic!], it will not be finished before the year of Doom.”¹⁸

Little did Padre Nuez imagine that doom lay just around the corner. The beginnings of this church came to an end when later that year the *Río de Porciúncula* went on the rampage, and inundated what there was of the building.¹⁹

Three years passed, and still no new church building graced the growing pueblo. Finally in 1818 Governor Pablo Vicente de Solá recommended that a new site be chosen, one that was on “higher [ground . . . and near] the comisionado’s house.”²⁰ So it was that a site not far east of the old 1874 chapel was selected, and the local populace subscribed fifty head of cattle in hopes of defraying the building costs.²¹ Unfortunately the governor did not think this donation adequate, so he appropriated the church destined cattle, but promised that he would place the item of a church building in his coming year’s budget estimate. That year came, 1819, and the Angelenos were still without their church building, without their cattle which had been fed to the army, and without the help from the budget which was defunct.

As funds had not been forthcoming either from the cattle or the treasury, Padre Mariano Payeras, then prefecto, took matters in hand: “Consequently,” said the Prefecto by letter, “I turned my eyes to the Missions [that is to say that he requested of the missions] and received from the Missions of San Fernando, San Gabriel, San Juan Capistrano, San Luis Rey, and San Diego [a total of] seven barrels of brandy as pure alms, which having sold in the presidios below, produced with other minor alms, \$575.81.”²² This is that notorious brandy which was supposed to have been sold “drink by drink,” and wags of other days have commented that this church truly had a “spiritual” foundation. For as they drank, the walls began to rise above the foundations at the new location. But expenses were rising with them, as construction was not being done by the Angelenos, but by neophytes from *San Luis Rey* and *San Gabriel*, under the supervision of José Antonio Ramírez, master builder.*

* A master builder (maestro de obras), was not an architect, but was a man skilled

The \$575.81 proved to be but a drop in the bucket. With it the walls were raised to the window arches, but when the cash ran out, the construction stopped.²³ Costs to date had been: \$100.00 to *San Luis Rey* and \$155.81 to *San Gabriel* for the labor of their neophytes, valued at one *real* [about 12½ cents] a day; \$50.00 to the master builder, whose agreement had called for "six reales [about 75c] a day, a barrel of wine every three months and board . . . ;²⁴ \$70.00 was used to procure tools; \$100.00 was set aside to purchase a bell — this must have been used elsewhere, as the bells were later acquired without the help of this or any revenues; and another \$100.00 was used for needed religious articles.²⁵ These expenses do not quite total the available \$575.81, but they account for a good portion of it.

Still more revenue was forthcoming by the way of fines imposed on two young smugglers. In October, 1821, or thereabouts, Máximo Alanis and Antonio Briones were caught redhanded in the midst of smuggling activities. Captain de la Guerra confiscated the goods, sent them to jail for six months, and imposed a heavy fine upon them in favor of the unfinished church.²⁶

When Prefecto Payeras made a visit in October of 1821, he again beheld an unfinished church and community without the funds to further the work of completion. Earlier he had estimated that the church's construction would not be "less than \$2,000.00,"²⁷ and this was quite a sum in those days. Once again he took matters in hand and appealed to the missions by letter and urgently requested their aid. This time many more missions responded, pledging commodities which could be converted into cash: *San Miguel*, 500 head of cattle; *San Luis Obispo*, 200 head of cattle; *Santa Bárbara*, one barrel of brandy; *San Diego*, two barrels of white wine; *La Purísima*, six mules and 200 head of cattle; *San Fernando*, one barrel of brandy. And misión *San Buenaventura* stated that if debt remained on completion, it would help to cover it, but should there be no deficit, the mission would furnish a goodly supply of church goods for the interior and sacristy.²⁸ Prefecto Payeras notified Governor Solá of the generous contributions of his fellow missionaries, and gave him a chance to donate as well. But the Governor was poor in cash at the time — salaries due to colonial officials in Alta California had become non-existent after Mexico revolted from Spain. So, with the pledging of these goods, construction be-

in the arts of construction. José Antonio Ramírez kept order among the Indians working on the church, supervised their work, and probably handled such items of building as the door and window frames, etc. He is also credited with working on the magnificent San Luis Rey, and both buildings do have features in common. Bancroft lists Señor Ramírez as a carpenter.

The Church by the Plaza



— Photo from the Diaries of Judge Benjamin Hayes
Courtesy, Security-First National Bank

FATHER BLAS RAHO

*Vicar-General of the Los Angeles Diocese and
pastor of the Plaza Church from 1857 to 1862.*



— Photograph courtesy the Audio-Visual Section, Los Angeles Public Library

SIDE ENTRANCE OF THE CHURCH BEFORE REMODELING

Pilasters, identical to these stood at the sides of the original fachada. This doorway carries out the theme of the fachada on a smaller scale.

The Church by the Plaza



— Photograph courtesy The Huntington Library

SKETCH OF LOS ANGELES IN 1847

This sketch by William Rich Hutton, is the earliest reliable picture of the Church. Such details as two windows of the nave, the two lower bell niches, and the cemetery are missing, but the gable, the transepts and the baptistry show prominently.



— Historical Collection, Title Insurance and Trust Co.

THE PLAZA CHURCH BEFORE 1860

This reproduction of a drawing which first appeared in the diaries of Judge Benjamin Hayes, is perhaps the only picture of the church before the original fachada fell during the rains of 1860. Barren hill in the background is Fort Moore Hill, the present site of the Los Angeles City Board of Education.



— Photograph by Fr. Victor Marin, 1958

STATUE OF SAN VICENTE FERRER

This is probably the oldest statue at the Church. It was a "gift" from Mission San Gabriel at the dedication ceremonies in 1882.

The Church by the Plaza

gan again — that is, began the following April, 1882. This time, *San Luis Rey* and *San Diego* provided the neophyte laborers.²⁹

At this point legend has it that an Americano, Joseph Chapman, "José," was put to work on the unfinished church building. The year would have been early 1822, and the church building was at that time just four walls, cruciform in plan, and roofless. Because of his connections, Señor Chapman was known locally as *Pirate Joe*. But pirate or not, the tradition exists that he directed the roofing of the long unfinished church of the pueblo. Where Señor Ramírez was at this point seems to have been forgotten.

The story is told that if he [Senor Chapman] was supplied with some Indian workman and tools, he would go up in the mountains, and get out some large timbers for the church — and to the great astonishment of the [Angelenos], he succeeded in doing this, and it was considered a wonderful feat in those early days, in view of the almost complete absence of transportation facilities.

Chapman took his Indian laborers and departed for the mountains and there performed veritable marvels. . . . The Indians themselves could manage to cut down a tree by hacking it in irregular fashion, but it was liable to drop anywhere, either smashing into other trees, or over rocks and thus destroying its value as large timber. Chapman knew how to line, score, and hew, marking the line along the ground where the tree was to fall; and as the trees always fell in the places he pointed, he was looked upon as a demon in disguise.

Chapman managed to have his timbers dragged down by himself and his Indians' own strong arms from the upper canyons by using skids and ropes. Once down below they were dragged on the road to Los Angeles by the aid of raw hide ropes lashed around the horns of oxen . . . As the heavy timbers slid along the ground, upon their faces which Chapman had rough hewed, they were turned from time to time, and thus scoured clean as if they had been planed. Arrived at the road, they were loaded into heavy carretas [oxcarts] and thus were hauled down to the Los Angeles [in those days the Porciuncula] River to the Plaza . . .³⁰

So may have arrived the church's first timbers, and possibly with the help of a Yankee "pirate!"

Sometime very late in 1822, the building on which construction had begun in 1819, was completed. Nearly ten years had elapsed since the first church building activities had been commenced. There must have been reason for considerable rejoicing, both on the part of the missionary fathers, and the Angelenos, when the building was to be dedicated on the eighth of December, 1822: *La Iglesia de Nuestra Señora de los Angeles*, The Church of Our Lady of the Angels.³¹ . . . Conceived in brandy, roofed by a

pirate, and dedicated to the Holy Mother, it was a chapel for roughly six hundred inhabitants of a tiny settlement on a rather unpredictable *Río*. Built during the years that Mexico had struggled with Spain to become an independent nation, it is understandable that the Angelenos had to turn to the missionary fathers for monetary aid, for in that period of turmoil the missions controlled the only available sources of revenue. Los Angeles was then a tiny pueblo nestled amid encircling hills. Its buildings were of adobe, single-storied, brea-roofed, and centered about a plaza. At that time the plaza was simply a bare space surrounded by newly constructed buildings, for not so much as a tree, shrub, or flower grew there. Nor was it yet geometrically square, for several adobe dwellings protruded out into this barren plain.³² In the long dry season it was dusty, when it rained it became a sea of mud.

The newly constructed chapel, with its fresh coats of white-wash, must have been a gleaming white, at least for a while. Constructed of adobe, it had a gently curved *espadaña*,* or gable, which rose to a pointed finial at its center. High in the *espadaña* a small niche housed a *santo*, and above this was a cross. At each side of the *fachada* [facade] rose a pilaster which terminated in a strip of bevelled moulding which ran horizontally just beneath the sweep of the *espadaña*. An arched doorway with a simple raised moulding provided entrance, and immediately above it was a rectangular window which gave forth into the choir.

To the left of the *fachada*, and recessed inward several feet was the campanario. Of the narrow bell-wall variety, it had three tall, narrow niches on the lower level, and one centered above these. The top was finished with a stair-stepped gable which shows great resemblance to the famous campanario at its parent church, *misión San Gabriel*.* Unlike most of the belfries built by the Franciscans, it was lower than the *fachada* adjacent to it.

* The word *espadaña* means "a belfry of only one wall," but in the architectural sense, and particularly when related to Spanish colonial churches (in Mexico as well as those within the United States) its meaning has broadened. Kurt Baer, in his recent volume *Architecture of the California Missions* states: "The *espadaña* is a form of raised gable end of a church building . . . This terraced, curved and decorated front end of the church building is a marked characteristic of Spanish colonial architecture. The device of extending upward the gabled or pedimented facade of a church was employed to give added height and impressiveness to an otherwise low elevation; it is believed to have been employed originally as a means of lessening the risk of damage by earthquakes, for high naves in larger churches were subject to much damage."³³

* The present campanario at San Gabriel was built just after the earthquake in December of 1812, to replace one which had stood to the right of the eastern entrance. The pueblo church was built less than ten years later (1819-1822), and plans must have been in the offing as early as 1814 when the first building's foundations were flooded by the river. It is possible that the same person, or priest, may have drawn up the plans for both structures.

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On the north wall of the church a doorway opened out on a cemetery. The doorway was flanked on the exterior by pilasters of identical design to those of the fachada, but on a smaller scale. Curiously enough, this entrance was not centered between the two windows of the north wall, and although recently remodeled, it has remained in this interesting off-centered position to this day.

The chapel itself was twenty-seven feet wide, one hundred and thirty-five feet long,³⁴ thus making the altar railing about ninety feet from the rear wall. At the crossing there was a sweep of forty-nine feet, with transepts extending outward about eleven feet, and the building's walls were four feet in thickness — varying from place to place.³⁵ The nave was divided into bays by four pilasters on the side walls, and these doubtlessly carried some type of decoration. Four small windows were placed high in the walls of the nave, a rectangular window in the east wall of each transept,³⁶ and there may have been a very small window in the rear wall of the church, if there was a room behind the Sanctuary.³⁷ Just inside the front doorway and to the left, a low arched opening gave entrance into the baptistry, a small square room on the south side of the church. A niche, angled into one corner, held a sizable cooper vessel for the keeping of holy water. This vessel may also have been a legacy from nearby *San Gabriel*. Large beams supported the church's ceiling, and like the mission churches, the pueblo church had no pews. At the time of dedication it was only "somewhat decorated" — whether this meant that the work was sparse, or just unfinished, it not quite clear.³⁸ In all, simplicity was the building's keynote, but it was not without charm.³⁹

When the church's construction was completed, and dedication impending, it was necessary that the new church have a bell. Earlier the sum of one hundred dollars had been set aside for the purchasing of a bell, but this was back in 1819, and by 1822, this stipend must have been absorbed in the building costs, for apparently it had ceased to exist. To remedy the situation, *San Gabriel* "gave" a bell, and along with it the image of San Vicente Ferrer. This bell bears the inscription: "Año de 1795 La Purísima Concepoyon de NS" [Year of 1795, The Immaculate Conception of Our Lady]. The word "Concepoyon" is a misspelling, which is not unusual on mission bells. It should have read "Concepción." The NS stands for *Nuestra Señora*, (Our Lady). This bell, tuned to an F, is the oldest bell at the church, and came from the campanario at the mission where it had been in service presumably since the late 'nineties of the eighteenth century. Hanging today in the lower left-hand niche of the present belfry, it was used for many years to

toll the Angelus at the pueblo.⁴⁰ In 1827 *San Gabriel* again "gave" bells to the church: two bells from the foundry of G. H. Holbrook, an American bell founder. One bears the inscription: "G. H. HOLBROOK. This bell is today in the topmost niche of the church's belfry, and because of poor casting — that is, the bell metal being too thin, causing it to be brittle — has lost most of its rim. The second of the bells given in 1827 hangs today in the niche on the lower right, and also suffers from poor casting, having lost portions of its rim as well. Its inscription reads: "CAST BY GEORGE H. HOLBROOK MEDWAY MASS" (Massachusetts).⁴¹ Whether these came from the mission's belfry, or were acquired specifically for the new church by the mission is not known. As pointed out, these are the present locations of these bells as one faces the facade of the church, and not as they hung in the old campanario.

These bells and the statue were given by misión *San Gabriel*, but they were "given" with the idea that in time the pueblo would pay for them. Evidently payments were not forthcoming, for in 1843 Padre Tomás Esténaga, then in charge at *San Gabriel* sent a bill and some explanations to Don Antonio Coronel of Los Angeles:

In the church of Our Lady of the Angels are three bells from this mission which have not as yet been paid. . . On — [with] — the first bell was placed the figure of San Vicente Ferrer. It was set up in the temple of your city where it is to this date. The late Reverend Father Sánchez was willing to accept all kinds of goods in payment for the three bells, in consideration of the good service they did during all this time [about twenty years], and for the image of San Vicente Ferrer.⁴²

Further records have not come down to us as to whether Padre Esténaga received his fattened cattle, but all the mentioned bells are still to be found in the present belfry of the church, and the image of San Vicente still graces the chapel. (*See illustration.*)

This accounts for the acquisition of three of the bells, but the fourth bell has a story all its own. This was the bell which "paid for an elopement." The elopement for which the payment or penance was made was that of Señorita Josefa Carillo of *San Diego*, and Captain Henry Delano Fitch of New Bedford, Massachusetts. The elopement was successful, but the scandal which it created, and the wrath incurred on the part of Governor José Echeandía, who had also paid court to the lovely Señorta Josefa, caused misión *San Gabriel* to be the scene of an ecclesiastical trial in 1830. Padre José Sánchez (the late padre mentioned in the letter of Padre Esténaga to Don Antonio Coronel), the padre presidente at that time, and by virtue of this office, the vicar-general of the Bishop of So-

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nora, presided over the court. His selection of a penance shows wisdom, but also a ready wit. After the usual liturgical stipulations, he added the following:

. . . Yet considering the great scandal Don Enrique [Captain Fitch] has caused in this province, I condemn him to give as a penance and reparation a bell of at least fifty pounds in weight for the church at Los Angeles which scarcely has a borrowed one.⁴³

Doubtlessly the good padre remembered that the pueblo had three "borrowed" bells in their campanario! Unfortunately no record was made as to whether the penance was done, but tradition still calls one of the church's bells "the bell that paid for an elopement." The bell, also a Holbrook bell, has the best tone of the bells at the church, and is tuned to an A-sharp. Located today in the lone southern niche of the belfry, its inscription reads: G. H. HOLBROOK 1828.⁴⁴

Before our tale of the church's bells is complete, we have yet another bell to account for, but history anent it is not so plentiful.

If the pueblo church and the nearby mission early formed ties of "exchanging" bells, it is one which has lasted down to modern times. In this later case, however, the Angelenos did the giving rather than the old mission. . . . The highlight of the Mission Day Festivities at San Gabriel in September of 1931 was the "return" of two long missing bells. One of the bells came from the church at Los Angeles where it had lain for many years unused on the floor of the storeroom off the baptistry. Like the "elopement bell" it is inscribed with the date 1828. It was not one of the bells given by San Gabriel, but it was taken to the mission anyway. Amid great "ballyhoo," churned up largely by local newspapers, which carried the jubilant, but woefully unhistorical story that this was the "original bell of the old mission borrowed 117 years ago . . ." it was being returned to the old mission because, apparently, some did think that the bell belonged there.⁴⁵ With an inscription identical to that of the "elopement bell," it is possible that Captain Fitch was generous and gave the little church two bells, rather than the stipulated one; however, this is pure conjecture. The bell had not been in use (in the belfry, that is)* since the late 'sixties, if not

* The earliest photographs in which the bells can be seen show the church with the flamboyant wooden tower of 1869. Although there was more space, only four bells — presumably those which presently today grace the belfry — were then in use. It is my belief that this bell had not been in use since the remodeling of 1861, as the three niched campanario which was pressed into service would not have held five bells — and things must have been crowded with four in those tall narrow niches!

earlier. This much commented-on bell hangs serenely today in the topmost niche of San Gabriel's storied campanario.

An interesting sidelight concerning the bells of the pueblo church is told by the Reverend Walter Colton. It concerns the "taking" of Los Angeles by Commodore Robert Field Stockton in August of 1846. Memorable is the almost classic comment of the Commodore when informed by a courier of General José Castro, "that if he marched upon the town [Los Angeles] he would find it the grave of his men." To which the Commodore is said to have replied: "' . . . tell the General to have the bells ready to toll in the morning at eight o'clock, as I shall be there at that time.'"⁴⁶ Eight o'clock came, so also came the Commodore, but General Castro had departed. "The bells" to which the Commodore referred were those of the church of Nuestra Señora de Los Angeles, our pueblo church.

Steeple bells are no longer a necessity for a Catholic church, but back in the early years of the last century, no church was without them. Harris Newmark cites the reason:

"In the first years of my residence here [about 1853], the bells [of the pueblo church] ringing at six in the morning and at eight in the evening, served as a curfew to regulate the daily activities of the town . . . whose sweet chimes, penetrating the peace and quiet of the sleepy village, not alone summoned the devout to early mass, or announced the time of vespers, but as well called many a merchant to his day's labor, or dismissed him to his evening's rendezvous."⁴⁷

In addition to bell bills, the Angelenos also had difficulties in locating their first resident pastor. When the church building was dedicated in 1822, the pueblo had no priest of its own, and this may account for the formal records not commencing until 1826. Since the protests made in 1810, the padres from *San Gabriel* had attended the needs of the pueblo as best they could. After dedication of the new church building, the pueblo, now supposedly "independent" of the mission, was attended "like a neighboring parish whose pastor had died or was absent."⁴⁸ This policy had more or less been in effect since 1810, but now that the church's books were about to be opened, it was now formally in effect. Prior to 1810, the pueblo had something of the status of an *asistencia*, but it should be remembered that *San Gabriel* never considered it an *asistencia*, but instead cared for it "out of mere charity."⁴⁹ Plans for the spiritual life of the pueblo should have included a priest, for during the early years *San Gabriel* was a flourishing center of Indian life, which demanded all possible attentions of the padres stationed there. As the mission period began to decline, the pres-

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tures became less great, and it doubtlessly became an accepted fact that fathers stationed at *San Gabriel* also cared for the church at Los Angeles. From the early 1840's through the middle 1850's the roster of priests at the two churches is almost identical, for the church of Our Lady at Los Angeles was more often than not without a resident priest.

Sometime in 1821, before the church edifice was completed, the Angelenos made a request of Prefecto Payeras to allow Padre Gil, who had aided their cause earlier, to be their pastor. But by 1821 Padre Gil was at misión *Santa Cruz*, and could not be spared due to the poor health of his companion missionary, not to mention the fact that he seems to have been ailing himself. Because of this, Prefecto Payeras was unable to grant their request. Therefore, without a resident priest, the pueblo remained in the spiritual care of *San Gabriel*. Father Engelhardt tells us that as there were usually two fathers in residence at the mission, they doubtlessly took turns celebrating Mass in the newly finished church at the pueblo on Sundays and Holy Days of obligation.⁵⁰ Under the jurisdiction of Padre Geronimo Boscana, the Baptismal Register "*de la Parochia de Nuestra Señora de Los Angeles*," [of the Parish of Our Lady of the Angels], was commenced with the first baptism entered on March 4, 1826.⁵¹

The spiritual care of the pueblo continued in the hands of the padre from *San Gabriel* until 1832, when the Very Reverend Juan Augusto Bachelot, Prefect Apostolic of the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands, and a Picpus Father, arrived unexpectedly at *San Pedro*. He had left the Islands as a group of Presbyterian missionaries felt that they could not countenance the competition of the Catholic faith in that part of the Lord's Vineyard.⁵² So it was that he himself was without a job, and the Angelenos in need of a priest. The situation was presented to the Comisario Prefecto of California, Padre Narcisco Durán, who was only too glad to allow the prefect from the Islands to minister to the needs of the pueblo. How the pride of the Angelenos must have swelled — their first resident priest, the Prefect Apostolic of the far distant Sandwich Islands! Father Bachelot stayed until 1837,⁵³ when he again returned to the Islands, and Los Angeles was again without a pastor. As before, the pueblo became a spiritual ward of the nearby misión.

Building problems beset the Angelenos in 1839, when for lack of upkeep they found their church beginning to crumble about their heads. From the Ayuntamiento records* of the *Ciudad de Los Angeles* come the following entries:

* The Ayuntamiento was the local city government or council, and these records, in

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At the session of the ayuntamiento, June 19, 1839, the president stated "that he had been informed by Jose M. Navarro, who serves as [sacristán], that the baptistry of the church is almost in ruins on account of a leaking roof." It was ordered that "Sunday next the alcaldes of the Indians shall meet and bring together the Indians without a boss, so that no one will be inconvenienced by the loss of labor of his Indians, and place them to work thereon, using some posts and brea now at the guardhouse, the regidor on weekly duty to have charge of the work."⁵⁴

It was followed by this entry:

Guillermo Money owes the city funds out of the labor of the prisoners, loaned him for the church, \$126.55.

No explanation was given as to why the prisoners were pressed into service rather than the Indians, but the needed repairs must have been considerable, judging from the amount that Señor Money owed the city funds. According to Judge Benjamin Hayes, more repairs were made on the church three years later, when he states that a "Father Sánchez" from *San Gabriel* supervised the re-roofing of the church building. Unfortunately he did not specify which Father Sánchez.⁵⁶

From early illustrations, considerable may be learned about the roofing material of the baptistry. When William Rich Hutton sketched the building in 1847, he showed the little room with a flat roof covered with brea. A second early lithographed drawing "from life on stone" made ten years later by Charles C. Kuchel and his partner E. Dressel, shows the same flat roof in place. About 1861 a hipped roofed was placed over the room, which may have been leaking again. In 1869, when the church building was shingled, a sort of lean-to-roof replaced the earlier hipped roof. These shingles were probably replaced in 1912, and these lasted until 1935, when they were replaced by tiles, but the lean-to styling was retained.

In the course of the church's history, it has had several cemeteries. In the early days ground on the northern side of the church was used in the capacity of a churchyard.⁵⁷ A doorway on the northern wall of the church's nave communicated with this area.* As this plot became filled, ground along the southern side of the church was walled in and served the area until about 1844, when the Catholic Cemetery on North Broadway (often referred to as the "Buena Vista Cemetery") came into existence. Bancroft cites the reason for the new cemetery:

Spanish, record the transactions, events, and the business of this civic body. They comprise the city's earliest records.

* This doorway of the nave of the church on the cemetery side of the building is a

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. . . August 16, 1839, twenty-one citizens enter a petition to the ayuntamiento on the state of the town cemetery, which has been in use since [1820] ⁵⁸, and is totally inadequate to the present needs, endangering the health of the community. They ask that a suitable site for a new burial place be selected, and that the ayuntamiento and the priest [from *San Gabriel*, doubtlessly] consider the matter of removing all remains from the old *campo santo* [consecrated ground]. The ayuntamiento referred the matter to a committee . . . and nothing was accomplished for five years.

When the remains had been removed, the northern side of the church became a garden, and remained so well into the twentieth century. But the southern plot vacillated between orange trees in the 'seventies and century plants during the 'nineties. Today it is being used as a parking lot.

Down through the years those buried within the church building have acquired a sort of legendary quality, and from local tradition, only two are ever mentioned—one of whom is *not* buried in the building.⁶⁰ To dispel these erroneous ideas, a complete listing of those who have received the honor of burial within the church is reproduced here. From the Death Registers of the church come the following entries: "*En la Iglesia*" [in the church], March 20, 1829, María Guadalupe Sánchez, daughter of Vicente Sánchez, and María Victoria Higuera. She was a child of about fifteen months . . . The second entry, "*En la Iglesia*," was made July 31, 1831, for María Nemesia Avila, also a small child, daughter of Francisco Avila and Encarnación Sepúlveda . . . The first adult to be buried within the church was María Juana Verdugo, and the record states specifically "*En la Iglesia cerca de la puerta del lado*" [in the church by the side door]. The widow of Roque Cota, María Juana Verdugo had come to California with her husband in 1778 or 1779 and was ninety years old or more when she was buried March 14, 1835. . . . The next burial within the walls reads thus: "*en el cuerpo de la iglesia de esta ciudad, a pedimiento de los dos alcaldes*" [in the body of the church of this city, at the supplication of the two alcaldes], Pedro Sánchez, husband of María Asunción Avila, was buried February 12, 1837. . . . June 13, 1840, María Ignacia Félix was buried "*dentro del templo de esta ciudad*" [within the church of this city]

feature to be found in almost all the Spanish churches of California. It was from this doorway that the deceased left the church for the last time, and because of this seems to have been significant. At Misión Santa Bárbara this doorway has been decorated with skulls and cross bones, indicative of its prime purpose. It should also be remembered that in these early days, the mortuary or "funeral parlor" was non-existent. The deceased lay in state in his own home, or a few of the churches, *i.e.* San Gabriel, San Luis Rey, Santa Inez, were provided with mortuary chapels or depositos, where the body was placed until the funeral services.

August 20, 1840, "*En la Iglesia de Nuestra Señora de los Angeles di sepultura eclesiástica a Don Manuel Guitiérrez, soltero, de edad 97 años, de los dominios de Europa. Su radicación en esta California fué de 60 años.*" [In the church of Our Lady of the Angels, I gave ecclesiastical burial to Don Manuel Gutiérrez, bachelor, of the dominions of Europe. His residence in the [Alta] California was sixty years]. Manuel Gutiérrez appears in the 1790 census as mayordomo of misión *San Buenaventura*, and his age was then thirty-nine. The entry was made by Padre Tomás Esténaga, Father Superior at *San Gabriel*, and because of the lack of a priest at the pueblo, also in charge at the "neighboring parish" of Los Angeles. . . . September 5, 1840, "*En la Iglesia de Nuestra Señora de los Angeles,*" Teresa Sepúlveda, wife of Miguel Pryor [known in English as Nathaniel Pryor], was buried. . . . December 19, 1840, Juan Felíz, husband of María Ignacia Verdugo, was buried "*En la Iglesia.*"⁶¹

Tradition also tells of another burial plot at the church, but in this case it was not considered to be consecrated ground. It is said that the area immediately in front of the church's main portal, which was enclosed by a small picket fence, was used as a burial place for those who had not made peace with the Church, and it was here, within the shadow of the building, but without its hallowed precepts, that loving hands placed those who had erred.⁶²

Honor and distinction came to the little church in 1859 when it became the residence of the Right Reverend Thaddeus Amat. As the episcopal residence of Bishop Amat, the pueblo church of Los Angeles served in the capacity of pro-cathedral [temporary cathedral] of a diocese which included "all that portion [of California] which lay south of the city of San José."⁶³ After fire destroyed the church of Our Lady of Sorrows, Santa Barbara in 1868, the remains of Saint Vibiana, patron saint of this diocese, were brought to the church at Los Angeles. Here they remained until the dedication of the Cathedral built in her honor.⁶⁴

With the residence of Bishop Amat in Los Angeles, the Very Reverend Bernardo Raho came as the vicar general. According to Harris Newmark, his residence in Los Angeles began in 1857.⁶⁵

Born in Naples, Italy, he had served in the Mississippi Valley before coming to California.⁶⁶ Known locally as "Father Blas," he was greatly loved by his parishioners. Under this genial father's direction, improvements began to be made on the church grounds. Where the burial plot on the northern side had been, Father Blas planted a garden.* Now, nearly a century later, we know of but

* Whether the area was first planted during the 1840's when the cemetery came to an end is not known. But it must have been that Father Blas' garden was either

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one variety of flower which he planted — the chysanthemum.⁶⁷ These plantings must have been notable, for comment was still being made about them thirty years afterward. But Father Raho was more than a successful gardner, for in the diaries of Judge Benjamin Hayes, we read of the zeal of this man who was a friend to Indians and prisoners; two of the lowest members of California society. When the rains damaged the church in December of 1860, it was he who personally solicited the necessary funds for its repair. Two years later Father Raho died at the hospital of the Sisters of Charity.⁶⁸

The rains came in the year 1860, and although rain was not uncommon in the "city of the Angels," large amounts at one time was. Like Californians of all time, the Angelenos' adobe homes were built for a long summer season, not for damp winters.

Los Angeles, Star, December 6, 1850: "The rain has been the severest for seven years. Probably as much as six or seven inches fell in about forty hours. You can imagine the effect. It is very hard on these adobe houses. Several have fallen, one row of stores, among the rest evolving a loss of many thousand dollars. . ."⁶⁹

The Semi-Weekly Southern News, Friday, December 21, 1860: "The Catholic Church . . . sustained slight injury by the washing and giving away of a portion of its walls."

The *Los Angeles Star*, Saturday, December 22, 1860: "The north-east corner of the Catholic Church was damaged. . ."

The *Los Angeles Star*, Saturday, December 29, 1860: "On Tuesday last, Christmas day, the heaviest rain known in Southern California for the last eight years commenced falling. It began as an ordinary shower and ceased about dark — but commenced again about 10 o'clock at night pouring in a perfect torrent. The ravines, creeks, arroyos, etc., were full, and deluged the whole valley of Los Angeles, doing an incalculable amount of damage to our citizens . . . from the settling of foundations, the washing down of walls, and the filling of cellars."

Sunday Evening, January 18, 1861: "Four men were drowned near here [San Gabriel Canyon] in the recent rains, and much damage done. In the town [Los Angeles] . . . the adobe cathedral [the pueblo church] is nearly ruined, some of its walls fallen.⁷⁰ . . . The front of the old church, attacked through a leaking roof, disintegrated, swayed and finally gave 'way, filling the neighboring with impassable heaps."⁷¹

very spectacular, or far better than the previous ones.

That Father Raho was esteemed highly by people who lived here in the city at the time, is borne out by the fact that historians of other faith have paid him high tribute. Harris Newmark, of the Jewish faith, comments on this "genial, broad-minded Italian," while H. D. Barrows, a Protestant, writing on early clerics in Los Angeles, gives a glowing account of Father Blas, whom he knew personally. Judge Benjamin Hayes, of the Catholic faith, and a companion on several of the Vicar's journeys, has left a lucid picture of a devoted man.

Thus is told, with contemporary accounts, the story of the damaged fachada. Sometimes during the week of December 15 to December 22, 1860, the first of the damage was done. However, the damage at first must not have been very serious, for both the *Star* and the *Semi-Weekly* mention it only in passing, noting far greater damage to other of the town's adobes. That the church, for the most part was still standing on Friday, December 28, is borne out by the fact that the *Star* reported that the Very Reverend Fr. Blas Raho conducted a funeral in the church on that day.⁷² That his church, particularly the eastern end, must have been somewhat damp and cold, and that the ceiling must have sustained considerable leakage, we may well surmise.

How much of the old fachada actually fell is difficult to tell. Looking back across more than ninety years, there is much room for conjecture, for out of this disaster have come several rather inaccurate accounts. To quote from Harris Newmark again, we note that there was *something* remaining of the adobe fachada when repairs were to be made:

The front adobe wall [of the church] which had been damaged by rains, was taken down and reconstructed of brick.⁷³

The writer is of the opinion that only the upper portions of the gable were seriously damaged. The flat brea roof which backed the gable at that time doubtlessly caught and held water in puddles. In time this would penetrate the adobe of the gable, and cause a break at the roof level. As the rains continued, the damage became greater due to the exposed portions of the wall incurred by the first of the rains. But when the storms ceased, there remained a badly washed adobe wall, perhaps as high as the doorway arch, if not higher, but what remained of this adobe fachada apparently was not reparable.

(To be continued)

NOTES

1. James, George Wharton, *In and Out of the Old Missions of California*, first edition, 1905, p. 279. From a paper prepared by the Very Rev. Joaquin Adam.
2. The Franciscan Order was born on the outskirts of the town of Assi, Italy. A tiny church, usually called "The Porciúncula," was given to St. Francis, and here he and his little but growing band of followers began to flourish. The formal name of this church was "Santa María de la Angelli," St. Mary of the Angels.
3. Bancroft, Hubert Howe, *History of California*, volume I, p. 345.
4. Bancroft, *Ibid.*, p. 346.
5. de Goycochea, Felipe, Comandante at Santa Barbara. 1789-1802. MSS material, reprinted by permission of the Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California.
6. *The Historical Society of Southern California*, ANNUAL X, p. 124.
7. Willard, Charles Dwight, *The Herald's History of Los Angeles City*, p. 85.
8. *Los Angeles Record*, July 23, 1925.
9. Engelhardt, the Reverend Zephyrin, *San Gabriel Mission and the Beginnings of*

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- Los Angeles, local series*, pp. 79-81.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 80.
 11. *Ibid.*, p. 81.
 12. Bancroft, volume II, *op. cit.*, p. 351.
 13. Engelhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 125.
 14. *Ibid.*, p. 95.
 15. *Ibid.*, p. 96.
 16. Newmark, Harris, *Sixty Years in Southern California, 1853-1913*, 3rd. ed. rev. 101.
 17. *Ibid.*
 18. Engelhardt, *op. cited.*, p. 123.
 19. Guinn, James Miller, *A History of California and An Extended History of Los Angeles and Environs*, volume I, pp. 399-427. No month is given, but it must have occurred *after* July.
 20. Bancroft, volume II, *loc. cit.*
 21. *Ibid.*
 22. Engelhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 127.
 23. *Ibid.*
 24. *Ibid.*, p. 123.
 25. *Ibid.*, p. 127.
 26. Bancroft, volume II, *op. cit.*, pp. 440-441.
 27. Engelhardt, *op. cit.*
 28. *Ibid.*, p. 132-on.
 29. *Ibid.*, p. 128.
 30. The *Los Angeles Times*, August 19, 1928, "The Ex-Pirate Chapman," by George Wycherley Kirkman.
 31. Bancroft, volume II, *op. cit.*, p. 562.
 32. Guinn, *op. cit.*, p. 348. The noted historian made this comment on the situation: "A moderate diviation [as to how far one's house protruded out into the plaza] was not noticed, but if someone built out too far the authorities pulled down his casa."
 33. Baer, Kurt, *Architecture of the Missions of California*, p. 44. Reprinted by permission of the University of California Press, Berkeley, California.
 34. The Catholic Directory, 1851.
 35. These are my own measurements.
 36. The cruciform plan was unusual among the Spanish Colonial churches of California, and it seems to have marked a high degree of architectural development when it was used. The only other churches to employ this plan were those of San Luis Rey and the now ruined stone church of San Juan Capistrano. It is possible that in the case of the pueblo church that the cruciformity may have been a later addition (possibly about 1840 when one rather vague source states that the church was enlarged). If not, this was one of three churches in the group built after this plan. San Juan Bautista acquired side chapels when its side aisles were blocked off — this was the one church in the California chain where the three aisled nave was constructed, but at a later date the side aisles were closed. The Presidio Church at Monterey had its transpets added in 1858, long after the structure was completed in 1794.
 37. All early photographs showing the rear wall of the church show a small window in the rear wall, which may have admitted light on a small — very small — room behind the sanctuary. At present the location, of the original sacristy is not definitely known. At one time during the last century, an area formed by the corner of the north transept and the sanctuary may have served in this capacity, as may have a room in the wing built onto this transept arm in 1859. This north transept still has a small doorway, but today is covered by the large side altar of recent construction. One possibility was that the transept arms, one or both of them, were used as sacristies. With this arrangement, one would have been the priest's sacristy, and other the lay or "working" sacristy.
 38. This comes from the second letter of Prefecto Payeras, wherein he states that: "The Holy Temple [our pueblo church], was covered with its roof, all white washed, and somewhat decorated. Also the adjoining cemetery will be ready; likewise the house of the missionary father with all the necessary rooms."
 39. Most of this description, with the exception of the fachada and the campanario, is still in the conjectural stage. Nothing is known of the interior before the drastic remodelings of 1861, and 1869, when at the former date the interior was done over by a French artist. However, the pilasters with bays wall treatment is common to many of the mission churches, and there is a good possibility that *some-*

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- thing of the early mural work still remains beneath the gallons of modern house paint on these structures today. There exist today about thirty huge beam ends still embedded at the roofline of the older portion of the church's nave; all of which have been sawed off to accomodate a higher ceiling of the Victorian period.
40. Walsh, Marie T., *The Mission Bell of California*, pp. 50, 55.
 41. *Ibid.*, p. 55.
 42. Engelhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 213. Reprinted by permission of the Franciscan Province of Santa Barbara, Santa Barbara, California.
 43. Bancroft, volume II, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-144. However, for a beautiful modern telling of this love story, see Walsh, Marie T., *The Mission Bells of California*, p. 280. See also, Garland, Clarice (Mrs. C. Goodwin), *Idyls of the California Missions*. Miss Garland was a distant relative of Captain Fitch.
 44. Walsh, *loc. cit.*
 45. *The Los Angeles Times*, September 9, 1931.
 46. Colton, the Reverend Walter, U.S.N., *Three Years in California*, p. 56. Reprinted by permission of the Stanford University Press, Palo Alto, California.
 47. Newmark, *loc. cit.* Reprinted by permission of Mr. and Mrs. Marco R. Newmark.
 48. Engelhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 88.
 49. *Ibid.*, p. 81.
 50. *Ibid.*
 51. Plaza Church Archives, First Baptismal Register.
 52. Englehardt, *op. cit.*, p. 169.
 53. *Ibid.*, p. 170.
 54. Ayuntamiento Records, City of Los Angeles. English translations from McGroarty, John Steven, *History of Los Angeles County*, volume I, p. 307. Reprinted by permission of the American Historical Co., Inc., New York, N. Y.
 55. *Ibid.*
 56. Hayes, Benjamin Ignatius, (joint author), *An Historical Sketch of Los Angeles County California*, 1936 edition, p. 92.
 57. *The Historical Society of Southern California* QUARTERLY, June-September, 1944, volume XXVI, "Landmarks and Pioneers of Los Angeles in 1853," by Ana Begué de Packman, p. 65.
 58. Death Records, Mission San Gabriel.
 59. Bancroft, volume III, *op. cit.*, p. 632.
 60. The source for the two burials in the church is an article by August Wey in the December, 1895, issue of *Land of Sunshine*. George Wharton James, writing about the turn of the century, used information from this article, or from the same primary source that Mr. Wey had used — which could have been a priest at the church during the 'nineties. According to this article, Doña Eustaquia Pico, mother of Pio, Jesús and Andrés Pico, and the "young wife of Nathaniel Pryor" were buried in the church. A search of the Death Records does not reveal Señora Pico, but Mrs. Pryor, née Teresa Sepulveda, is listed.
 61. Plaza Church Archives, Death Records. Reprinted by permission of the Reverend Father Macrino Niño, C. M. F., present Superior of the church. Translation and geneological material made available through the courtesy of W. M. Mason.
 62. *The Historical Society of Southern California*, QUARTERLY, June-September, 1944, volume XXVI, *loc. cit.*
 63. Engelhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 315.
 64. Baer, Kurt, *The Treasures of Mission Santa Inez*. p. 263.
 65. Newmark, *op. cit.*, p. 293.
 66. *The Historical Society of Southern California*, ANNUAL, 1901, volume V, "Early Clerics of Los Angeles, by H. D. Barrows, p. 126.
 67. *Land of Sunshine*, December 1895, volume IV, p. 25, "Our Land of the Angels," by August Wey.
 68. *The Historical Society of Southern California*, ANNUAL, 1901, volume V, "Early Clerics of Los Angeles," *loc. cit.*
 69. Brewer, William H., *Up and Down California in 1860-1864*, (journal), p. 20. Reprinted by permission of the University of California Press, Berkeley, California.
 70. Brewer, *Ibid.* The church was at this time serving in the capacity of a pro-cathedral, or "temporary" cathedral.
 71. Newmark, *op. cit.*, p. 258. Reprinted by permission of Mrs. Marco R. Newmark.
 72. *The Los Angeles Star*, Saturday, December 29, 1860.
 73. Newmark, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

The Ill-Fated '49er Wagon Train

*A crude map caused the tragic break-up of the first
great wagon train down the Old Spanish Trail
from Great Salt Lake to California*

By James Edsall Serven



ON OCTOBER 23, 1849, there was assembled at a crossing of the Beaver River in Utah one of the largest concentrations of gold-seekers ever to travel westward; this was the first big wagon train to pass down the Old Spanish Trail. They had been nearly three weeks on the trail from their assembly point near the present site of Provo.

Almost all of these people had reached the vicinity of Great Salt Lake during the late summer or early autumn of 1849, traveling in small groups and by different routes. They came from many sections of America, but all had a common goal — to reach the California gold fields safely with all possible speed. To accomplish this, they had joined forces and had contracted with Captain Jefferson Hunt to serve as their guide and trail leader. Rules of travel were agreed on, and they had decided to name their assembled caravan "The Sand Walking Company," a more appropriate name than they then realized.

It was too late in the season to travel the Humboldt River route across the Sierras to California. With the horrible fate of the Donner Party fresh in everyone's mind, they had decided to travel the longer but safer southern route, even though it meant breaking a wagon road over trails primarily used by pack animals. This southern route had been mapped by Frémont in 1844 and Jefferson Hunt had traveled it several times. Furthermore, Jefferson Hunt was an experienced trailbreaker, having served under Col. Philip St. George Cooke in the Mormon Battalion which opened a wagon road to southern California from Santa Fe, by a route below the Gila River, in 1847.

Existing records indicate there were 107 wagons, about 400 persons, and more than 500 head of oxen, horses and mules in the

train that broke camp south of Great Salt Lake (near Provo) on October 2, 1849. By October 23, having reached the Beaver River, their number had been increased by a pack-train group headed by Captain O. K. Smith and a party of Mormons under the leadership of Charles C. Rich, with J. M. Flake as trail captain.

We learn that Rich, one of the Twelve Apostles of the Mormon Church, had installed a "roadometer" on one of the two wagons used by his group, and that this instrument had recorded the distance from Great Salt Lake to the Beaver River as 208 miles.

The progress of The Sand Walking Company from their assembly point near Great Salt Lake, traveling southward at an average of ten miles a day, had been tediously slow but relatively pleasant and orderly. At the Beaver River appeared the first dangerous signs of unrest and dissension. A week was wasted here in futile search for a reported improved route south to Antelope Spring, and Captain Hunt was wrongfully blamed. Important among the reasons for a growing confusion and discontent was the influence of Captain Smith's party and the newly arrived Mormons. All of Smith's men and most of the Mormons were unencumbered by slow-moving wagons; with pack animals they could travel faster and over rougher country than those with wagons. The main villain in the ensuing tragic course of events, however, was a small map. This map purported to show in some detail a short route around the Sierras called "Walker's Cut-off."

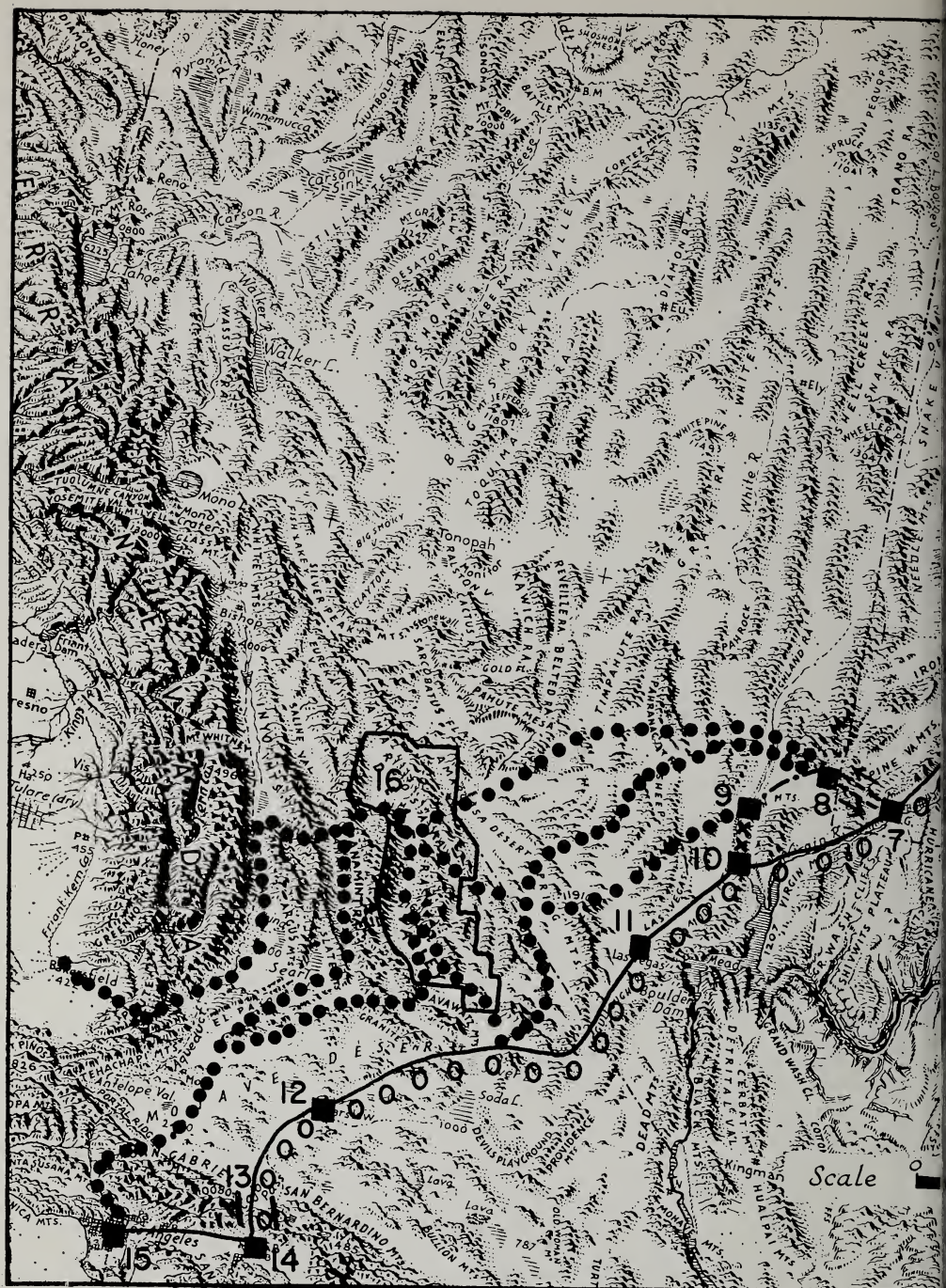
There is disagreement as to the provider of this map; some credit it to a mountaineer named Williams and others say it was obtained from Barney Ward. Whoever provided it, he had convinced Captain O. K. Smith that here was a shortcut over which they could reach the mines in twenty days — before the rainy season set in. Smith reasoned that if they plodded down the Old Spanish Trail all the way to Los Angeles and thence back north to gold diggings much valuable time would be lost.

Among those who were moving west in this train was the Reverend J. W. Brier. Brier is described as a man who enjoyed the echoes of his own eloquence, and he loosed an impassioned harangue, urging all to take this much-discussed short-cut. In firm opposition to any deviation from the known trail was conscientious Jefferson Hunt. He declared, with sound reasoning, that he had been engaged to lead them safely to California by the Old Spanish Trail, and that as long as one wagon wished to continue on that original route he would feel obliged to lead that wagon. Prophetically, Hunt warned that they might be heading for the jaws of hell if they turned to an untried route.

The Ill-Fated '49er Wagon Train

KEY TO MAP

1. Great Salt Lake.
2. Salt Lake City. Rich-Bigler party started from here.
3. Utah Lake.
4. Assembly point for Jefferson Hunt's "Sand Walking Company" a little south of present-day Provo. They left here October 2nd, 1849.
5. Beaver River crossing. All elements of the train were encamped here on October 23, 1849.
6. Trail from Salt Lake came into the Old Spanish Trail at this point, near Parowan, Utah.
7. Turn off from main trail near Newcastle, Utah. All but Capt. Hunt's party of seven wagons turned off here to search for Walker's Cut-Off. About a week later the Rynierson party of 70 wagons started back to the main trail and followed the Hunt wagons down the Old Spanish Trail.
8. Mount Misery — so named by the emigrants. Rynierson party turned back from here but 27 wagons and various parties with pack trains continued westward. Smith-Rich parties reached here Nov. 2nd. Others about 5 days later.
9. Division Spring. Smith and Rich parties separated here. Smith proceeded a short distance to the west but then retraced his steps to the Old Spanish Trail. The Rich party took a south-easterly course and reached the Old Spanish Trail at the Muddy River and there met the Hunt party.
10. Muddy River, where on November 18th the Rich party met Capt. Hunt and the seven wagons which followed him down the Old Spanish Trail.
11. Las Vegas, the first water after Muddy River (Nov. 21st).
12. Mohave River crossing. Hunt party helped starving emigrants here. (Dec. 2nd).
13. Cajon Pass. Rich-Bigler party reached here Dec. 9th.
14. Williams Ranch near Chino, reached by wagons of the Hunt group Dec. 22nd. Christmas feast was provided here.
15. Los Angeles — Western terminus of the Old Spanish Trail.
16. Death Valley Monument Outline.
17. Santa Fe. Eastern terminus of the Old Spanish Trail.



THE VARIOUS TRAILS OF
See Page 31 for Key to Map Loc



SYMBOLS

- — Route from Salt Lake City to California taken by Capt. Jefferson Hunt.
- ● ● ● — Approximate routes taken by various groups, with wagons and packtrains, westward from Mount Misery.
- ○ ○ ○ — Old Spanish Trail. Followed by Jefferson Hunt from near Parowan, Utah.
- — Route taken by Smith-Rich party from Mount Misery to Division Spring.
- X X X X — Route taken by Rich and Bigler from Division Spring to the Muddy River crossing of the Old Spanish Trail.

The Ill-Fated '49er Wagon Train

Captain Smith's group and the men of the Mormon pack-train reached a decision to leave the wagons and push ahead at a faster speed. This parting of the ways was the first of many defections and divisions of the assembled company. In this brief work we can hope only to provide an informative summary of their diverse paths and fortunes. But for a revealing account of the travails of one segment of this oddly assorted caravan, and perhaps a representative account of the hardships encountered by many, let us take a close look at events related in the 1849 diary of Henry W. Bigler.

Henry Bigler had marched to California with the Mormon Battalion in 1847. After his term of military service expired and before joining his Mormon friends in Salt Lake City, Bigler worked for a time at Sutter's Coloma mill. The *Overland Monthly* of September, 1887, tells us that Henry Bigler was the man whose on-the-spot diary recorded for posterity the precise date and detail of the discovery of gold in California. Thus Bigler attained prominence as a diarist.

In Salt Lake City, Bigler found himself in financial straits. He decided to return to California and in his words "seek some of the treasures that seem to abound in the rivers, creeks, and ravines of that country." So it came about in the last week of October, 1849, Henry Bigler found himself hurrying down the trail, ahead of the big wagon train, in a pack train composed of Captain Smith's men and the Mormons under Charles C. Rich with whom he had left Salt Lake.

About eighty miles below the Beaver River crossing, the Smith-Rich pack train reached the reported branch trail to the Walker Cut-off. This spot is near the site of the Mountain Meadows Massacre and not far from the present town of Newcastle, Utah. Here a long conference was held. Bigler, adding to the claims made for the map, advised that he had heard of the Walker Cut-off when traveling from Los Angeles to Sutter's Fort in 1847.

On November 1st a momentous decision was made — momentous not only for those immediately involved, but especially because they would make a trail which would be followed by others less suited for such travel. It was one of the most unfortunate "wrong-turns" in western history. The Smith-Rich party turned from the comparatively safe Old Spanish Trail and started west, with nothing to guide them but a questionable map, some vague stories, and blind hope. Soon their venture was christened by a cold, driving rain, but they plodded steadily up-grade until they finally found refuge among large rocks.

The next day they crossed the rim which divided the Great Salt Lake basin from the country which drains into the Colorado River to the south. They traversed a rugged stretch of upland terrain, to be named Mount Misery by those who soon followed, and dropped down into a narrow canyon the sides of which were almost solid rock. (Henry Bigler's initials, carved in the rock here in 1849, were discovered by Charles Kelly a historian, and reported in *Desert Magazine* for February, 1939).

On November 4 there was more rain; the going became more difficult. One of the horses rolled off a bank and was killed. The next day the canyon opened somewhat and the travelers came to several clearings where Indians had grown corn and other crops. On November 6 a group of Indian wickiups was sighted, but the Indians fled from the approaching white men.

Travel since departing from the main trail had actually been more toward the southwest than the west, due to the rugged buttes and other natural barriers. The men came to sandy hills on November 8. On this day they were overtaken by six men with pack animals who brought news that most of the wagons would turn westward to follow the cut-off trail. On the night of the eighth, camp was made in a dry wash. They dug for water but no water could be found. One man offered fifty dollars for a drink, but none was for sale.

The sun beat down relentlessly the next day and some of the men went nearly crazy with thirst. Henry Bigler filled his mouth with bullets and chewed them to create moisture. Late in the day a small stream was reached by some of the hardier men who had outdistanced the others. They promptly named it Providence Creek. Canteens were filled and the stronger men retraced their steps to give aid to those who had given out short of the water.

November 10 was given over to resting and regaining their strength, but they all started forward again the next day through rough country. November 12 was recorded as another waterless day, but on the thirteenth it rained, forming pools from which men and animals could drink. Bigler gratefully wrote in his diary "the finger of the Lord is in the rain."

On November 15, Charles Rich and three others climbed to the crest of high hills west of their camp to get a panoramic view of the land that lay beyond. After two hard weeks of perilous and fatiguing travel during which little forward progress had been made, they had begun to doubt the existence of Walker's Cut-off or any other passable short-cut. Rich reported back to the camp that he could see no sign of water and that the mountains rose one

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after another for over 150 miles — as far as the eye could see. Charles Rich had had all he wanted of such country; it was just too tough to travel. A look at a modern map will show that Rich might well have been discouraged, for to the west beyond the rim of the Great Basin are the Meadow Valley, Sheep, Desert, Pint-water, Armagosa and other formidable mountain ranges.

All the Mormons of Rich's party agreed to follow him on a southeasterly course to cut back to the Old Spanish Trail, but Captain Smith's group was not yet ready to turn back. On November 16, at a spring they appropriately named Division Spring, the Smith and Rich groups parted.

Two days later, following the natural drainage toward the southeast, Rich and Bigler spied a column of smoke. Soon afterward, to everyone's great joy, they came to an encampment of Jefferson Hunt's wagon train, now reduced to only seven wagons. With Hunt were the few prudent people who had remained with him back up the trail when 100 wagons and those with pack animals had turned off to follow the Smith-Rich trail westward. Among the few wagons which had remained with Hunt was the one to which was attached Rich's "roadometer."

Leaving their brief encampment on the Muddy River, Jefferson Hunt's wagons and the Rich-Bigler pack train started down a fifty mile dry stretch of the trail toward a place known as the "Las Vegas," the next water.

December 2 found them at the Mohave River. Here they gave aid to some emigrants, believed to be members of the Gruwell-Derr party, who were found close to starvation. There followed several days on the trail when they were plagued by rain and snow. Hunters brought in three deer and this change in fare raised spirits somewhat.

On December 9 an advanced group reached snow-covered Cajon Pass. They were met here by men sent out with provisions from the Isaac Williams ranch — fresh beef, unbolted flour, and other needed food. Henry Bigler and others of his pack train went into quarters at the Williams ranch on the valley floor (near Chino) on December 13. They were joined on December 22 by the seven wagons led by Jefferson Hunt. Here at the ranch, flour could be purchased at \$12 per *fanega*; beef on the hoof was \$5 to \$10; salt was \$1 per *alimo*; coffee was 37½ cents a pound.

There followed a Christmas celebration the trail-weary travelers never forgot. They sat down to a feast of goose, duck and beef, all topped off with plum duff and good wine. They had cause to rejoice. Even for those who had kept steadfastly to the main

trail, the way had not been easy. They had been obliged to transform a pack trail into a wagon road. The way led in and around precipitous buttes and steep-walled canyons. Alkali deserts brought acute thirst and choking dust; they were hot by day and cold at night. There was little game for food or brouse for the animals, many of which weakened and died. Depredations or attack by Indians had been a frequent threat. Of this route Captain Frémont wrote: "We found it the roughest and rockiest road we had ever seen in the country, and which nearly destroyed our band of fine mules and horses . . . the line of our road was marked by the skeletons of horses, which were strewn to a considerable breadth over the plains."

Charles Rich's "roadometer" recorded the distance from Salt Lake City to the Cajon Pass along that old trail of 1849 as 701 miles. Your speedometer will record the motor route today as about 662 miles. Two days of leisurely motoring will bring today's traveler from Salt Lake through the Cajon Pass. It took Henry Bigler and Jefferson Hunt over two months of hard going to do it in 1848. But theirs may be considered a relatively easy journey compared to that of those determined but less prudent pioneers who pushed westward from Mount Misery across the rugged wastelands, through Death Valley, and over the Panamints. To these intrepid pioneers country like Death Valley had not looked tough. Most of them lived to provide the record of their mistake; some didn't make it.

Now, having followed the Jefferson Hunt and Rich-Bigler parties to their safe arrival in the California settlements, let us back-track a bit and consider the fate of others in this great train which had started out in such a fraternal manner as The Sand Walking Company.

Leaving the Beaver River soon after October 23, Jefferson Hunt had led the entire wagon train southward and on November 3 they reached the vicinity of Mountain Meadows near a place sometimes referred to as Iron Buttes. Here they had found the plain trail of the Smith-Rich party turning off to the west.

Obsessed with the desire to reach the gold fields as quickly as possible and influenced by the example of the pack train, the next day one hundred wagons and those with pack animals cast aside Captain Hunt's advice and started the uphill westward climb toward the rim of the Great Basin. Captain Hunt was left to proceed down the Old Spanish Trail with but seven wagons as we have already learned.

Three days later, near the present Utah-Nevada border-

The Ill-Fated '49er Wagon Train

line, the train of 100 wagons and many pack animals came to rough country through which there was no apparent passage for wagons. The trail of the Smith-Rich party had disappeared down a deep canyon into which wagons could not follow.

Camp was made and scouts were sent in all directions to search for a passage. They met with no success, and finally a man named Rynierson had the good judgment to declare that it was obvious they had made a mistake and that he would start back immediately and follow on Jefferson Hunt's trail. About 70 wagons joined Rynierson. No regrets were shown at leaving this high, rugged country; they named it Mount Misery.

The Rynierson party followed Jefferson Hunt's well-broken trail and some weeks later than the Hunt and Rich-Bigler groups worked their way through the Cajon Pass and reached the settlements in the valley below.

With the safe arrival of the Hunt, Rich-Bigler, and Rynierson groups we have accounted for about 77 of the 107 wagons of the original Sand Walking Company. We may now turn to the more tragic fortunes of the others.

At Mount Misery, after many of the Rynierson party had already started back toward the Old Spanish Trail, several scouts came in to report a possible passage for wagons about ten miles to the north. The news heartened some of the more determined travelers, and the owners of twenty-seven wagons decided to undertake the tortuous journey westward. Added to the wagons were groups who traveled light, with pack animals.

From Mount Misery westward, and eventually through Death Valley and the deserts beyond, the paths of these people separated, crossed and sometimes recrossed. Theirs was an excruciating experience with thirst, famine, and fatigue. Of the twenty-seven wagons that headed westward from Mount Misery only the Wades' got beyond Death Valley. The Georgia-Mississippi group abandoned their wagons east of Death Valley; the wagons of a colorful group known as the Jayhawkers were burned within Death Valley.

The Rev. J. W. Brier and his family followed the Jayhawkers and others on a gruelling trek afoot out of Death Valley and across the desert, eventually arriving in Los Angeles. The Bennett and Arcane families, aided by the heroism of William L. Manley and John Rogers, finally trudged to safety, theirs being one of the best known and very dramatic stories of Death Valley in '49.

Captain O. K. Smith, the chief proponent of the Walker Cut-off route, who so staunchly declared to Henry Bigler at Division Spring, "If you do not hear from me you will know that I died with

my face westward," finally changed his mind and returned to the Old Spanish Trail. Eleven of the men in Smith's party did continue westward, but the fate of only two is definitely known. These two separated from the others and, having undergone much suffering, eventually reached the California mines.

A Kentuckian was the first to die, breathing his last at Mt. Misery. Capt. Culverwell died in Death Valley. Two of the members of the Jayhawker party named Fish and Isham died a short time after climbing out of Death Valley. How many others succumbed is a question that has never been satisfactorily answered; the fate of quite a number of the travelers beyond Mt. Misery has never been learned.

There were so many groups, divisions of groups, and lone individuals, all a splintering from the original Sand Walking Company assemblage, that a report on their travels, if such were possible to compile, would be voluminous. The report must include, in addition to the names already mentioned in this narrative names such as Stover, Haynes, Doty, Stephens, Martin, Colton and many others. It is hoped that the accompanying map will aid the reader in following the routes taken by the major segments of the wagon train.

Over one hundred years later, as we consider the terrible hardships endured by these people, we find it somewhat difficult to understand how a well-organized trail company could break up so quickly. We wonder why so many recklessly turned from their original objective to scatter all over the rugged, unexplored terrain . . . But such was the lure of gold in '49.

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The Old College of Medicine

By Viola Lockhart Warren

PART II

(Continued from the December QUARTERLY)

HE OLD COLLEGE OF MEDICINE started the 1909 academic year with lofty aspirations but with negligible resources. It was now the Los Angeles Medical Department of the great State University, but it had only \$236 in its treasury. Fortunately, all past bills were paid. Mr. Jackson Graves had assumed the \$20,000 mortgage, and the faculty had erased additional indebtedness by deductions from salary and by personal contributions.

The agreement with the University Regents required the College to support itself for two more years without financial help. Building repairs could be postponed. Some expense would be saved by the closing of freshman laboratories. Income from students would remain about the same, since the freshmen had been permitted to pay their tuition in Los Angeles before going on to Berkeley. The patients in the dispensary were still entirely "free," but the City and the County would continue the clinic drug appropriation of \$25.00 a month each. With the utmost economy in every detail, and with increased monthly assessments on the faculty, the College could manage to maintain itself for two more years. After that, the load would fall on the University.

Although the College still had sixteen sophomores enrolled, these would be the last of the second-year students. Henceforth, sophomores, as well as freshmen, would go to the University in Berkeley. Most of the criticism levelled at the College by the Flexner Report of the Carnegie Foundation had concerned itself with first and second-year instruction, that portion of the medical curriculum which was most costly in terms of extensive laboratories and paid instructors. Juniors and seniors could be adequately instructed in clinical skills at less expense, provided there were plenty of pa-

tients in hospitals and clinics and plenty of volunteer professors to teach. Of patients and clinical instructors, the College had an abundance. Certainly the juniors and seniors could be trained to the complete satisfaction of the new university sponsor.

It was fortunate now that the Faculty had Dr. George Kress as its secretary. Young, energetic, and a glutton for detail, Kress would watch expenditures like a hawk and prod the instructors in their duties. He was allowed \$300.00 a year for his services and was not expected to meet the heavy assessments levied on the older faculty members, who had financed the College since its inception. He was exceedingly proud of his association with the Senior Faculty and of his post as an officer of the State University.

Dr. Kress looked forward eagerly to the day when the University would take over the support of the College, but he was somewhat sceptical about the adequacy of that support. No Regents had as yet been appointed from the southern part of the state, and the State Legislature was heavily weighted with northern representatives. Would the northern majority be willing to give adequate support to the Los Angeles Medical Department, or would they need to be persuaded?

George Kress had been made secretary of the Los Angeles County Medical Association in 1908, and was already transforming a stagnant organization into a vigorous one. He was president of both the Los Angeles and the California Associations for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis, and was awarded gold and silver medals in 1908 by the International Tuberculosis Congress. He was writing a book on the medical profession of Southern California which was to be published in 1910. Although only ten years out of medical school in Cincinnati, this little, sandy-haired doctor already knew his way about in medical circles and in California medical politics. Moreover, his eager and energetic performance in every project undertaken, and his genuine cordiality and helpfulness, were making hosts of influential friends.

Knowing that the biennial session of the State Legislature would convene in 1911, Dr. Kress asked permission from Dean Barlow and the university authorities in Berkeley to campaign for a special building appropriation with which to erect a College hospital. The legislative bills were framed by the university authorities, and Dr. Kress went to Sacramento to push them through the Legislature.

It was almost a one-man campaign. Dr. Kress assured the legislators that the State had received a valuable gift in the property of the Medical College; worth, he estimated, at least \$200,000. Such a

The Old College of Medicine



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THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA



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INTERIOR VIEW, BARLOW MEDICAL LIBRARY, 1951



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THE COLLEGE OF MEDICINE, 1951

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valuable property should be maintained, and its usefulness increased. The southern section of the UC Alumni Association, of which Kress had been made an honorary member, gave the campaign its support, and the Los Angeles County Medical Association backed their secretary's efforts. In lining up legislative votes, Dr. Kress capitalized on a vague feeling of resentment in Southern California against a Legislature that was supposed to favor the North. He used the spirit of bitter competition between the doctors of the South and those of the North. He used organizations, individuals, personal influence, and reminders of past favors. The medical journals and the newspapers gave space to his writings in support of the bills, and letters and telegrams from the southland brought a flood of favorable testimony to the legislators.

At the end of the legislative session, both houses voted favorably on a \$25,000 building appropriation bill, and the Regents earmarked another \$10,000 for a maintenance budget. Dr. Kress was jubilant! The long financial drought through which the College had suffered for twenty-six years was now over. What he had done in 1911, he could do over and over again. The College hospital, so badly needed for so long, would soon be a reality.

Kress already had plans for the location of the hospital. The rear of the College lot was littered with small wooden buildings, and they must be moved together to make room for the new structure. He began by slicing the dome and the auditorium away from the south end of the main building and pushing the Graves Dispensary into contact at that end. A wing was separated from the Hendryx Laboratory, and the remaining part was attached to the main building in the rear. The detached wing was added to the janitor's cottage, still isolated on the north side of the eleven-acre lot. The consolidated building presented a good front to Buena Vista Street, now North Broadway, with a new entrance featuring the Graves Dispensary and with the porch of the main building enclosed. From the rear, the effect was not so good. There were strange angles and passageways; a second-story cat-walk led from one building to another; a numbers of doors now opened nowhere.

Dr. Kress was his own architect and construction superintendent for most of the moving and consolidating. He used day labor, and re-used lumber from the discarded sections. Workers were switched from one area to another to permit the clinics to continue in operation. Unexpected foundation difficulties were encountered, new cellars were dug for the dispensary addition and for the Hendryx building, and retaining walls were needed in the cellar of the main building.

Requisitions poured into Berkeley from plumbers, cement firms, electricians, painters; from a dozen individual contractors. The university authorities were disturbed by the unconventional proceedings, but so long as the \$25,000 appropriation lasted, they honored the requisitions. The money finally ran out, with no beginning made on the hospital except for the clearing of a site.

Meanwhile, a community campaign for an endowment fund of \$400,000 had been launched by the faculty and the Alumni Association of the College, but it consisted mostly of newspaper publicity and lacked aggressive leadership. Dr. Kress was convinced that the Legislature was a more profitable source for funds, and he prepared for the 1913 Legislative Session. This time, he was asking for both a construction appropriation of \$25,000 and a two-year maintenance budget of \$20,000. With the experience gained in the previous campaign, and the Southern California support already mobilized, this effort was comparatively easy. Both appropriation bills were approved by the Legislature and signed by the Governor.

Now the cement floor of the hospital was poured, and a two-story brick structure rose from the ground. The building was designed to house fifty patients and had an elevator shaft extending to the roof in case a third floor would later be needed. No kitchen space was provided, but there was a rather nebulous plan for a kitchen on the roof. The structure was still without lighting fixtures, hospital equipment, paint, kitchen, or elevator, when the second \$25,000 appropriation ran out.

Kress was already making plans to approach the 1915 session of the Legislature for more building money, when he learned with dismay that his luck had run out. An amendment appeared, by initiative of the people, on the 1914 ballot, proposing to abolish the State Poll Tax, whose money had previously been paid into the State Educational budget. The amendment was passed at the November election. Henceforth, the University would have no automatic tax income but would be obliged to appeal to the Legislature for every cent of its building and maintenance program. There would be little chance for detached departments such as the Medical College in the South to apply independently for funds.

Six or seven thousand dollars would still be needed to finish the hospital, and this sum could not be squeezed out of the annual maintenance budget. Dr. Kress made another try in the 1915 Legislature for additional building money, but he was refused. The long-awaited hospital stood incomplete and useless. The City and the County stopped their monthly drug appropriations. Hard times had come again to the old College.

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Meanwhile, the faculty was facing a still more acute misfortune. Students were not returning to Los Angeles for their junior and senior years. The last class to have all four years in the College, a class of sixteen, had been graduated in 1912. Only four juniors had returned in 1911, three in 1912, and one lone colored student in 1913. Apparently the freshmen and sophomores, observing that the San Francisco Medical Department was more adequately staffed and financed than the Los Angeles Department, were applying for admission in San Francisco and were being accepted there. Applicants with the required prerequisite of two college years were entering at Berkeley with no thought of returning to Los Angeles. Those without the prerequisite were registering at one of the two Los Angeles Osteopathic schools or at the Eclectic Medical College. Moreover, the Los Angeles College of Physicians and Surgeons was now the official medical school of the University of Southern California and was offering great competition, as was the College of Medical Evangelists, opened in 1909.

Sadly Dean Barlow conveyed to the Regents a faculty recommendation that the Los Angeles Department be discontinued as an undergraduate medical school. He suggested that an arrangement be made to keep the clinic open for a trial period of five years. "This polyclinic could be a place where properly trained physicians and surgeons coming to this community could continue their good work with adequate clinical material, and carry on any possible research clinical work. Such a polyclinic would be a tremendous factor in aiding the public health program of the State as well as Southern California, and would be a source of continued help to the poor of Los Angeles."

The university lawyers were called upon to determine whether such use of the establishment would conform to the requirements of the deed of gift, or whether the discontinuance of the undergraduate school would cause the property to revert to the donors. The policy-making authorities discussed the problem of public relations: would the medical profession and the lay citizens of the South, so thoroughly mobilized during the appropriation campaigns, be satisfied with the proposed solution, or would they be resentful about losing something they had once possessed, no matter how poor a possession it might have been? Was the clinic care of the needy sick without an instructional program attached, an appropriate use of University money?

Finally a plan for post-graduate courses of instruction in connection with the clinic was evolved, and the old College was renamed a "Post-Graduate School of Medicine." Dr. Barlow resigned

from the deanship, and Dr. Kress was appointed to the post. From the Regent's annual maintenance appropriation, \$2,400 was earmarked as salary for the Dean, the first such salary provided in the long history of the College.

Now the school placed advertisements in the *Journal* of the American Medical Association and in other eastern organs, describing its post-graduate curriculum. Dr. Kress, chief-of-staff in the Dispensary as well as Dean of the Faculty, changed the clinic schedule from the previous hour-and-a-half at noon to a staggered schedule throughout the afternoon, so that students could participate more effectively. As a member of the Executive Board of the County Hospital, he was able to arrange clinical opportunities there for the graduate students enrolled in the College. The familiar names of the previous faculty members gradually disappeared from the roster and were replaced by newcomers interested in clinical experience and dedicated to helping the needy patients. The students who enrolled were doctors new in practice who wished the distinction of a clinic connection, while they improved their skills among the numerous patients and the varied diseases in the clinic.

For a time, organized courses were announced, sometimes of one week's duration, sometimes of three months with a \$100 fee attached. Two-thirds of the fee, in each case, was paid to the professor conducting the course. There was an occasional brief series of lectures or a special demonstration bringing a group of doctors to the College, but the major part of the program was informal observation and practise in the clinic. For this privilege, the "students" enrolled, some sixty at the outset, paid a monthly fee of ten or fifteen dollars. No certificates were given to indicate completion of a course or excellence of performance.

A ten cent fee for patients in the dispensary had been instituted in 1911, without any apparent reduction in clinic attendance. Now Dr. Kress battled with the Regents for permission to keep this clinic income, as well as the \$10,000 annual maintenance appropriation. He described himself as "fearful for the University in case it becomes known that the little sums collected in the infirmary were sent north for the benefit of departments in Berkeley." He was permitted to keep the clinic fees, and, by working to increase attendance, he boosted these receipts to over \$5,000 in 1915. He persuaded a patient, Della N. Leflin, to provide in her will for an endowment fund for the College, and her gift of \$8,321.79 produced a small annual income. A milk depot was established in cooperation with a nearby settlement, and provided 312 new mothers, in 1915, with clean milk prepared and bottled for their babies.

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While Dr. Kress was struggling thus to make financial ends meet, to maintain the great sprawling plant, and to improve the clinic service, he was casting about to find some more secure way of operating. He made an unsuccessful attempt to turn the unfinished hospital into a County Emergency Hospital. The Barlow Library Trustees were having difficulty maintaining the excellent collection of books housed in the building across the street from the College, and Dr. Kress almost, but not quite, persuaded the County to pay maintenance costs there. The Los Angeles College of Osteopathic Physicians and Surgeons tried to persuade the University that they could be permitted to use the building without violating the terms of the deed of gift, but here Dr. Kress drew the line. He sent a blistering letter to Berkeley denouncing the Osteopathic School.

Dr. Kress apparently believed that to hold the property in the University's name was a perennial demand that the University re-establish undergraduate medical education in Los Angeles. The Regents were reminded constantly that they had assumed a moral obligation of indeterminate magnitude when they accepted the gift of the College. The institution was not providing education of university standard, and the Regents could not afford to bring it up to standard. Neither could they afford to surrender a large piece of valuable property in a central location, unless absolutely necessary. Above all, they could not abandon the patients in the clinic or offend the medical profession and the U.C. alumni in southern California. All that they could do was to temporize for the present, trying not to antagonize Dr. Kress as they refused, year after year, to install the missing elevator, and trying to keep him from making constant overdrafts on the maintenance budget.

The first World War jerked the College out of the doldrums temporarily. Dr. Kress was Senior Surgeon for the University of Southern California Students' Army Training Corps, and during the influenza epidemic of 1918, sixty or seventy Student Army patients were moved into the partly finished College hospital, with the Army installing light, heat, internal furnishings, and equipment. Dr. Kress was their surgeon. At the same time, aviation enlistees were examined in the clinic, and X-ray and Orthopedic surgeons were trained there for the Army. Exemption Board activities were conducted on the second floor.

The wartime activity was highly gratifying to Dr. Kress, but it did nothing to improve the educational facilities of the College. In 1920 the Regents instituted steps to close the institution, but were dissuaded by protests from Los Angeles. In 1923, the American Medical Association withdrew its endorsement of the College and

refused to carry its advertisement in the *Journal*. Immediately the Regents cut the annual appropriation for maintenance from \$10,000 to \$2,400 — merely the amount of the Dean's salary. The Controller of the University took over the financial administration of the Los Angeles Medical Department. Fortunately for the College, 1923-24 was a banner year in the clinic, with an income of \$41,865.50 from patients and \$4,551.24 from "students."

Nevertheless, the Trustees of the Los Angeles College Clinic Association met in 1925 to protest the reduction in university support. Dr. Granville MacGowan, President of the Association, called the Regents' attention to the large appropriations made to the San Francisco Medical School, implied again the moral responsibility to continue medical education in Los Angeles, and requested an annual appropriation of \$25,000.

The Regents were disturbed by the protest and its political implications. They sent several committees and individuals to inspect the Los Angeles Medical Department and report on its present condition and future possibilities. None of the reports was complimentary, and one described the operation as "deplorable." The inevitable conclusion was that the University should sever its connection with the College. The terminal date was suggested as July 1, 1927, but the Regents delayed to explore the possibility of a more constructive use of the property. The University of Southern California had received a large bequest from the will of Dr. Norman Bridge, and plans were underway for a reopening of the USC medical school. Perhaps this school could use the College property to advantage. Surely the people of Los Angeles would be satisfied if the old College of Medicine were returned to the University whose name it once carried.

Quietly and unofficially the University of Southern California was consulted, and also four of the five surviving members of the Los Angeles College Clinic Association. Agreement seemed at hand — until a formal meeting of the Clinic Association was held on February 7, 1929, with all five members present. Here Dr. Kress persuaded his confreres to withhold their consent. The new private university medical school, he explained, had hardly enough money to make a success of its venture. As for the Los Angeles Medical Department of the State University, it was now practically self-supporting and could carry on indefinitely. He favored a continuation, for the time being, of affiliation with the State University, in the hope of a full-fledged medical school coming into existence in the next few years.

In 1933, Dr. Kresses' salary from the University was reduced

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from \$2,400 to \$2,175. Undaunted, Kress increased clinic fees to twenty-five cents a visit and produced that year an excess of receipts over expenditures. The pharmacy was now charging for medicines and for certain of the clinic tests and injections. The Eye and Ear Clinic, personally stimulated by Dr. Kress because he specialized in this field, was particularly remunerative in terms of extra charges for glasses.

The actual management of the busy clinic was carried on by Miss Emily Richards, resident head nurse and dispensary superintendent. She served the institution loyally and efficiently from 1914 until 1948, living from 1917 on, in the old remodeled cottage, and acting in every conceivable capacity, including that of night watchman. Secretary for the Department was Mrs. Ethel Hart, widow of a former faculty member. There were three other full-time employees and ten part-time. Miss Richards and her staff were sincerely devoted to the welfare of the patients, and their sympathetic ministry was a notable contribution to the needy sick of Los Angeles, whatever the short-comings of the institution they served.

The development of the Southern Branch of the University in 1919 enabled the Regents to call its faculty in consultation on the Los Angeles Medical Department. In 1935, a committee of southern faculty, with two additions from San Francisco, reported again that the institution was unsatisfactory. "Instructional work of an acceptable graduate character has been offered at no time."

Suddenly, in 1938, Dr. Kress made a surprise move. He resigned his deanship and accepted a position as secretary-treasurer of the California Medical Association and editor of its journal. He departed for San Francisco, leaving the Department without a medical director. Acting-president Deutsch of the University requested that Bennet Allen, then Acting-dean of Graduate Studies and for the previous twenty years Professor of Zoology on the southern campus, to "take charge" of the institution. Bennet Allen was not a doctor of medicine, he was not given the authority of a deanship, and he had no specific power except to sign requisitions. There was no salary connected with his assignment.

Professor Allen had no hope of instituting a teaching program, but he did his utmost to improve the quality of the clinic. He made application for the accumulated income from the Leflin endowment and bought a better X-Ray machine. The clinical laboratory was revamped, and minor equipment brought up-to-date. Clinic records were improved, and staff conferences were initiated. Professor Allen did not consider himself qualified to pass judgement on the perform-

ance of the medical doctors, but he made every possible effort to bring a modern scientific spirit into the dusty old premises.

The nine years of his gratuitous service at the Medical Department must have sorely tried the spirit of a scientist who had always insisted on the highest possible standards for his own department in the university. As a distinguished researcher, Professor Allen must have grieved over the total lack of any research effort among the clinicians at the College. He no doubt preserved his dignified and encouraging manner on the premises, keeping the peace as best he could among the employees and spurring the volunteer physicians to better effort. However, in his role as private citizen, he expressed his opinion in no uncertain terms about the kind of medical education the University was offering to Los Angeles students and physicians. He compiled statistics on the number of California medical students who were obliged to get their education in other states; on the number from the South who attended medical school in the North; on the excess of population in Southern California as compared with that of Northern; on the greater proportion of the state tax load carried by Southern California and the inferiority of state educational service here. He sent these tables of statistics, with careful and persuasive letters, to the President of the University, to the Board of Regents, and to the Provost of the UCLA campus, pointing out the need for good under-graduate medical education in a well-equipped and financed school on the UCLA campus.

There were, of course, other citizens in Los Angeles well aware of the need for a good state medical school in the South. Suddenly, in 1944 and '45, the time seemed ripe to make a grand try for such a school. For the first time in decades, there was unbudgeted money in the state treasury, accumulated during the business prosperity of the war years. The southern Regents, headed by Regents Dickson and Roman, got together with the medical profession, headed by Dr. Elmer Belt. Their plans had the blessing of Supervisor John Anson Ford and of other influential officials of city, county, and state. Mr. M. Philip Davis, then in the State Assembly, was a graduate of UCLA and ready to take independent steps to secure a professional school for his Alma Mater. Governor Warren was heartily in favor of the project. Together, the campaign leaders presented a formidable team, quite as formidable as had Dr. Kress in an earlier and simpler campaign. Their task was to continue Professor Allen's crusade; to convince the University Administration, the Regents, and the State Legislature that the state could and should establish a second state medical school in Los Angeles.

At a meeting of the Board of Regents in Los Angeles in August,

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1945, the vote was cast for a school of medicine as a part of the University of California at Los Angeles. Those members of the Board who had suffered under the long tyranny of the compulsory Medical Department on North Broadway must have felt relief at this decision.

After a rigorous and stormy campaign on the part of the Southern California supporters, the 1949 Legislature appropriated \$7,000,000 for the construction of a School of Medicine in Los Angeles. President Sproul immediately appointed an advisory committee from the faculties of UCLA and San Francisco, under the chairmanship of Dean Vern O. Knudsen. The committee was instructed to proceed with organization plans, and later, to search for a dean. Dr. Stafford L. Warren terminated his wartime work as Medical Director of the Atom Bomb Project and came to Los Angeles in February, 1947, to work with the President's committee on the planning of the new school.

It was a complete surprise to Dean Warren to learn that there was already a Los Angeles Medical Department of the University. He toured the old building with Bennet Allen and shuddered with him at the danger of fire, the lack of sanitation, the absence of medical supervision, the absolute void of educational purpose or accomplishment. Bennet Allen was released at his own request from the "in charge" status and restored to his important research and teaching, now in the Atomic Energy Project of the new school. He is still actively contributing, in Emeritus status, now in his eightieth year.

The Assistant Dean of the new school, Dr. Norman Nelson, was placed in charge of the clinic temporarily until it could be closed. While the clinics ground wearily on, steadily decreasing in attendance, every effort was made to find some use for the buildings. Dr. Harry Penn was doing cancer detection research, under the direction of the Zoology Department, in the north wing of the brick building. The State Board of Health had established a laboratory in the south wing in 1947, furnishing the area at their own expense. They wished to rent the entire building, remodelling it themselves, if they could be assured of continued occupancy. This assurance could not be given because no one knew as yet whether or not the property would revert to the donors as soon as the clinic was closed. Dr. Penn moved out in 1948, and the State Laboratory in 1952. The University of Southern California was no longer interested, having planned their medical school development at too great a distance from the old College. An Alcoholic Prevention Clinic under County auspices was discussed, but no capable doctor could be found who would undertake the work in such quarters. University Extension

investigated the plant to see if it could be used for dental refresher courses, but decided that the buildings would be too costly to recondition. A group of appraisers found the land to be less valuable than it had been considered in earlier estimates, because of the encroachment of the freeways and the change of the old residential district into an area of marginal industries.

Dr. Kress had now retired from his Medical Association position and had returned to Los Angeles. At first he was elated by the prospect of a new medical school, but when he learned that the new school was not planning to use the old one, he protested violently. He was totally unwilling to accept the closing of the buildings. He tried to persuade the County to convert them into a "Health Center" for the education of children and adults; he organized a committee in the County Medical Association and tried to convince that body that it should establish a "Health Museum" at the old College. Finally, he presented himself before the County Recorder, as the last surviving member of the Los Angeles Clinic Association, and appointed two new trustees to serve with him, in a futile attempt to preserve the property as a clinic to be operated in conjunction with the University of Southern California. He well knew that the fifty-year period for which the College Clinic Association had been incorporated would expire in August, 1954, and that his influence on the disposition of the property would end with the termination of the Association.

The Regents announced the closing date as June 30, 1952, and the employees were notified in April of that year. Those who wished continued employment were placed by Mr. Kenneth Eastman, Hospital Director of the new school. Clinic patients were carefully referred to other out-patient departments. Some of the ancient furniture was transported to the temporary quarters of the new school for incidental use. The books in the Barlow Library were the property of the Library Trustees, a private association which had maintained the library since its inception, and the books had been moved in 1932 to the Los Angeles County Medical Association to form the nucleus of the Association Library. The journals had been retained and had been used for a time as a circulating medical library financed by fees collected by the State Board of Medical Examiners. Later the little building still sound and serviceable, was used for temporary storage, by the Historical Society of Southern California. Now no further use could be found for it, and the door was locked.

One last echo of the past reverberated through the old institution during the closing inventory. The appraisers turned a key in a rusty lock in the cellar, and there, in what had been a cold storage

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vault, were several withered cadavers, still waiting for the freshman anatomy class that had been transferred to Berkeley forty-three years before.

As a final goodbye to a once-worthy tradition, the Society for the History of Medical Science from UCLA called a reunion of the surviving faculty of the old College for April 18, 1952. The premises were toured for the last time, and the old faculty and the new sat down to dinner together at the Friday Morning Club. As always, Dr. Kress was the spokesman for the old institution, in the seat of honor at the speaker's table, retelling the old story. Dr. Elmer Belt of the new faculty, who had also served in the old clinic, enumerated the special contributions that each of the elderly honor guests had made to Los Angeles medicine.

Dr. Kress passed away on January 18, 1954, with his beloved College still standing and with perennial hope in his heart. If he could drive past the site today, he would find that the institution which he tried so valiantly to save has been completely erased from the face of the earth. Only the row of emperor palms on the Castelar Street frontage, and the Barlow Library, still standing across the street, would help him locate the spot where he labored for so long.

The sale of the old College and the Barlow Library netted something over \$100,000, and this sum has been established, in memoriam, as the W. Jarvis Barlow-Los Angeles College Clinic Association Fund. Its income is used for the purchase of books for the Bio-medical Library of UCLA. Each book carries a memorial bookplate and is available to students, instructors, and researchers from the entire community.

Perhaps it would console Dr. Kress to know that he and his confreres of the Los Angeles College Clinic Association are not forgotten. Had he seen the new medical school finished and in operation, he might be willing to testify that the University has fulfilled any moral obligation it might have assumed in 1909 for medical education in Los Angeles.

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OLD COLLEGE OF MEDICINE ARTICLE BRINGS A LETTER TO THE EDITOR

"I can visualize the old medical college on Aliso Street. It stood close to Webber's cracker factory and was remembered as the Sansebian home. F. Vaché Freres had their liquor store at Commercial and Alameda adjacent to the new S. P. Depot. This was the Northwest corner of Alameda and Commercial Streets.

"Many of the children of the neighborhood would gather at my home on Ducommun Street and in chorus beg my granny to take us to the old medical building to listen to the band on practice nights. . . . By day the basement and corral were a horse and mule market and by night the second floor was the auditorium for the band.

"The band was organized by Mrs. Nicholas Treosti who was Mariquita Olvera, daughter of Don Agustin Olvera. The children among the audience were from the families of Webber, Zobelein, Maier, Grimand, Larquier, Twist, Greengard, Levitt, Dominguez, Begue, Lietsky, all pupils of the Amelia Street School.

"Music could be heard blocks away. Grown-ups and children hustled to the concert. No admission. Whoever could not get into the building stood out in the street with no danger of being run over by any moving vehicle — at least no wild automobile."

"Thank you for helping to put 'Mi Pueblo' on the map.

"Sincerely,

"Ana Begue de Packman"

Lantern in the Western Sky

By Paul M. De Falla

PART I



IN THE EVENING OF OCTOBER 18, 1871, a date squarely in the middle of the era when the "Chinese Question" was a burning issue in California politics, a *Los Angeles Daily News* reporter whose name has not come down to us in history, gazed reflectively at the heavens over the Angel City and wrote the following day:

The young moon, in setting, has presented a most peculiar appearance for the last few evenings, strongly resembling a semi-circular Chinese lantern of bloodshot hue, suspended in the air over the Western horizon.

Aside from revealing his strong awareness of things Chinese in those days by seeing the moon over Los Angeles as a Chinese lantern, this *Daily News* reporter was also being unconsciously prophetic when he juxtaposed in his story about the moon the word "Chinese" and the words "of bloodshot hue," because, a few nights later, on October 24, 1871, some very authentic Chinese objects of a genuine bloodshot hue could actually be seen in Los Angeles suspended in the air — the bodies of seventeen Chinese men dangling from ropes where they had been hanged by the Angelenos during a massacre of Orientals that evening, an occurrence which constituted the first major explosion in California against the spirit of the three-year-old Burlingame Treaty between the United States and the Chinese Empire — an occurrence which tended to place America in the spotlight of international scrutiny, as the savagery in Los Angeles had been reported to the world *via* San Francisco almost while it was taking place.

The dead Chinese in Los Angeles were hanging at three places near the heart of the downtown business section of the city; from the wooden awning over the sidewalk in front of a carriage shop; from the sides of two "prairie schooners" parked on the street around the corner from the carriage shop; and from the cross-beam of a wide gate leading into a lumberyard a few blocks away from the other two locations.

One of the victims hung without his trousers and minus a finger on his left hand. The trousers had been hastily pulled off the Chinese by the men who had hanged him because it was suspected that he had some money in them which could not be readily obtained — and the finger had been severed from his hand because it had a diamond ring on it which would not readily slip off.

The seventeen Chinese had been hanged by members of a crowd of Angelenos which was estimated to number five hundred men, as reported by an Associated Press dispatch over the telegraph from Los Angeles to the *San Francisco Daily Examiner* at 9 p. m. the evening of the massacre, an on-the-spot report made precisely at the time the riot started which resulted in the Chinese hangings.

If the Associated Press estimate of the number of men involved in the riot is correct, it means that approximately eight percent of the total population of the city of Los Angeles took part in the program, as there were less than six thousand persons living in Los Angeles at that time — counting men, women, and children. Actually, so large was the crowd of men which hanged the Chinese on October 24, 1871, that one observer present estimated it as numbering three thousand persons, a number which is obviously much more out of reason than the Associated Press estimate.

The crowd which committed the depredations against the Chinese was composed on the whole of members of the large hoodlum class which resided in Los Angeles, and, as the coroner later put it, "of people of all nationalities." Nine years later, in 1880, poet-historian A. J. Wilson said of this Los Angeles crowd and its work at the Chinese massacre that "American 'hoodlum' and Mexican 'greaser,' Irish 'tramp' and French 'communist' — all joined to murder and dispatch the foe. He who did not shoot, could shout; he who feared to stab, could steal; there was work for all."

At the time of the Chinese massacre, the city of Los Angeles was almost completely surrounded by vast vineyards and orchards, except on its western and northern side, where steep hills had blocked the advance of agriculture, presenting a semi-bucolic appearance which belied its big-city toughness.

Leaving out its ingrained civic hardness, about which he apparently knew nothing, a very good description of Los Angeles as it existed just after the Chinese massacre was given by a Reverend J. W. Hough of Santa Barbara, when, after climbing the hill on which Fort Moore once stood, he gazed at the Angel City spreading out below him to the east and south and said, as reported by the *Los Angeles Star* on May 28, 1873:

The general view of Los Angeles from the old fort more nearly

Lantern in the Western Sky

resembles that of Damascus, the 'Pearl of the Orient' than any city I have elsewhere seen. The hills skirt it on the north and west as the range of anti-Lebanon does the Eastern city, while from them your eye sweeps over the same broad, brown plain, in the midst of which lies an island of verdure (El Mej, or the meadows, as the Arabs call it), with the city embowered in its midst. True, there are no minarets rising in the modern town, and the Los Angeles River is a poor substitute for the ancient Abana — nor are the desert schooners which take their departure for the Colorado river much like the caravans which leave Damascus for the Euphrates. But the vineyards have the same luxuriance, the pomegranates the same regal blossom, and the orange groves the same ravishing beauty — while an occasional palm, the statliest of trees, gives an Oriental air to the scene. One misses the ocean view, and the mountains lie away upon the horizon, and the city itself is rather irregular and has but a few fine buildings. The beauty is in the environs, where lovely cottages and lofty mansions peep out from amid bowers in which lemons and limes and apricots are mingled with oranges and walnuts and grapes.

Reverend Hough also had an eye for those geographic and economic factors which are necessary to sustain a city. He goes on to remark:

Los Angeles owes its future promise, as Damascus does its past greatness, to the water, which flows freely in its zanjias, and to its situation in reference to the interior country. It lies on the lap of a wide farming country, and in the midst of thrifty settlements such as El Monte, Los Nietos, Anaheim, and Compton — while one who stands at the depot and sees now and then a carload of bullion passing down to the sea, or a great wagon loading for Arizona, discerns therein a promise of a mighty inland traffic, which, unless diverted when the railroad systems of the region shall be determined, must make Los Angeles an important center. A gentleman, whose business has compelled him to traverse all parts of this state for years, remarked to me that in his view, Los Angeles was destined to be the second city in California.

So far, Reverend Hough's observations about the new Damascus and its environs had been very sound, as history will attest, but when it came to the issue of the society of men which lived in the city of Los Angeles, the good reverend's horn let out a note which was distinctly off key. Reverend Hough said:

Society in Los Angeles is a curious mosaic, in which Jew and Gentile, Protestant and Catholic, Spaniard and American, Northern and Southern elements, are intermingled — yet, all seem to be possessed of the generosity and open-heartedness that is a characteristic of California.

It was true, that all of these elements were intermingled in

Los Angeles — but nothing could have been further from the truth than that these same elements were possessed of generosity and open-heartedness. Less than two years before, a few days after the great Chicago fire, the newspapers of the city, on October 14, 1871, called upon this very same mosaic of citizens to gather at the county courthouse for the purpose of taking up a collection for the victims of the fearful conflagration — and only three persons put in an appearance.

After gazing at this puny gathering, the *Los Angeles Daily News* said in bitterness: "Anything more disgraceful than this on the part of the inhabitants, Los Angeles could not have been guilty of!"

But precisely ten days later, this same curious mosaic mustered up approximately five hundred persons at one place for the purpose of committing a massacre.

II

THE ROAD TO THE SENSATIONAL ERUPTION in Los Angeles against the Chinese residents of the city had been paved for the Angelenos eight years before, when, during the height of the Civil War, the California Legislature, in 1863, placed in the statute books a law which clearly and categorically placed the Chinese in the state outside the protection of the courts by establishing that henceforth, no Mongolian, Indian, Indian half-caste, or Chinese, could testify in a court of law in any criminal case (as well as any civil case) wherein a "white" man was involved, either in favor of, or against, said white man.

This extraordinary law meant that any white man who was so inclined could rob, maim, rape, injure, or swindle any Mongolian, Indian, Indian half-caste, or Chinese, and the victim could not testify against his aggressor; and that any "white" man could murder any person belonging to the Mongolian, Indian, or Chinese race living in California in the presence of any number of witnesses belonging to the same race as the victim, and no testimony from such witnesses could be allowed in court or official hearing. And since the law of 1863 was plainly aimed at the multitude of Chinese immigrants in California, it would appear that the legislature was inviting attempts on the part of the non-Oriental population of the state to solve the vexing "Chinese Question" in California by making it easy to drive out the Chinese by injury, and to decimate their numbers by murder — an invitation which hundreds of Angelenos took up with a glint and a glee on the evening of October 24, 1871.

The second major social eruption against the Chinese immi-

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grants in California took place seven years after the massacre in Los Angeles, when, in 1878, after a full two years of investigations and hearings, a committee of California legislators issued a report to the California Senate entitled: *Chinese Immigration — Its Social, Moral, and Political Effect* — a report which at the same time was mailed to every member of the United States Congress and to every editor of every newspaper then extant in America, under the heading of *An Address to the People of the United States Upon the Evils of Chinese Immigration*. As this report set out in lucid terms every infamy which could be attributed to the Chinese race, it was clear it constituted the handwriting on the wall for the Chinese in California, if not in the whole United States.

This report included prominently within its covers a long address made to the Social Science Association of America at Saratoga, New York, on September 7, 1877, by the Hon. Edwin R. Meade, a former United States Congressman from the state of New York, which said in part:

As illustrating the Chinese character, we remember with what professions of peace and good-will they offered the Burlingame Treaty, and yet, scarce were the signatures dry upon the paper, before occurred the horrible massacre of foreigners at Tien-tsin, June twenty-first, eighteen hundred and seventy. As we find described: 'The French Consul and foreign merchants, their wives, daughters, and children; the Catholic priests and the Sisters of Mercy, and about one hundred orphan children were cruelly murdered. These children had been gathered by the Sisters from the by-ways of the town, where they had been left to die by their parents. The coolies set fire to the buildings occupied by the Sisters, whom they dragged out into the streets. There they were stripped naked, outraged, exposed to the public gaze, their eyes plucked out, their breasts cut off, then ripped open, tore out their hearts, and deliberately cut them in pieces, and divided them among the infuriated mob.

The Hon. Edwin R. Meade then paused and asked of his audience: "Capable of such deeds, can the injection of such a race into our body politic be viewed without anxiety and alarm?"

At this point, probably not wishing to blur the crystal-clear image of Chinese character he had just painted for the members of the Social Science Association of America by describing to them the horrors perpetrated by some Chinese coolies at Tien-tsin, Mr. Meade did not mention that the Chinese government had after the massacre of the nuns evinced a definitely righteous quirk in Chinese character by promptly wreaking a terrible vengeance upon the murderers of the Sisters of Mercy — and beheading as many of the perpetrators of the program as could be identified. Nor did Mr. Meade report to his audience that the coolies who had committed

the murders had done so only after having been led to believe by the "intellectuals" of the town that the children the Sisters of Mercy had in their possession had been kidnapped by the nuns from their parents by stealth and stratagem — and not at all merely because the nuns had taken possession of children which had been abandoned by their own mothers.

The Hon. Edwin R. Meade also avoided confusing the members of his audience on the subject of Chinese character by simply failing to enter, in their presence, the field of related comparatives and describing to them the massacre by Americans of Chinese subjects in Los Angeles only six years before — an occurrence which defined American national character about as well as the affair at Tien-tsin defined Chinese national character, as the Orientals hanged in Los Angeles had first been dragged out of their homes, stabbed, shot, their bodies desecrated, then hanged whether already dead or not. Of course, Mr. Meade's reticence about entering this field is perfectly understandable even now.

Mr. Meade, however, showed a remarkable lack of reticence when it came to exposing the Chinese race before the members of the Social Science Association of America, quoting to them chapter and verse all the faults of the Orientals, including their alleged traditional lack of personal cleanliness. Thus, the Hon. Edwin R. Meade informed his audience that the personal habits of the members of the Celestial Empire were "... disgustingly filthy. Nothing can exceed the noisome odors which exhale from their proximity, and that such is a national characteristic is borne out by all travelers in China — from Abbe Huc to the present day."

This remark on the part of Mr. Meade leads one to believe that he, a born-and-bred New Yorker, had never been to California, where he would have found that scores of well-to-do Americans employed perfectly odorless Chinese in their kitchens, where the Orientals not only prepared the meals for their masters with their own hands, but served at the table as well.

Then, in 1880, three years after the Hon. Edwin R. Meade had made his enlightening address on the subject of the Chinese race to the members of the Social Science Association of America, and at a time when the government in Washington had as yet done nothing to stop Chinese immigration to the United States, there was published in San Francisco and distributed throughout the country a sensational book on the Chinese by a man named P. W. Dooner, entitled *The Last Days of the Republic* — which warned the American people of the coming, inevitable and final engulfment of the United States by Chinese hordes sent to America to supplement

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the work already begun by Chinese immigrants. The book was well received by the public, particularly in the Western United States, and added fuel to the fire already burning brightly against the Orientals residing in California.

Dooner's book has in it a picture of a wily-faced Chinese mandarin seated in a luxurious chair, gracefully fanning himself — and the picture is entitled *The Governor of California*, and also a picture entitled *Chinese Mandarins in Washington*, showing a group of pigtailed Oriental gentlemen having tea in the shadow of the national capitol.


Mr. Dooner's theme throughout his book was to the effect that, insofar as the imperialistic ambitions of the Celestial Empire were concerned, "To rule the world is dogma, a creed, a holy tradition of China, and the middle of the Nineteenth Century combined the circumstances that promised realization of this national dream — a tradition that was hoary with the frosts of centuries."

Mr. Dooner then goes on to embellish his theme by saying that once the Chinese Empire decided to possess itself of the United States after the Burlingame Treaty was signed in 1868, the Chinese government put into effect a plan wherein "a scheme of immigration was fixed upon by which every immigrant was assured support. Companies were organized, ostensibly as private enterprise, but virtually chartered, controlled, and directed by the central government at home."

This theory placed in the category of a foreign agent every Chinese in the United States after the Burlingame Treaty was signed, and also placed the owners of the Central Pacific and Southern Pacific railroads in the category of the most cunning entrepreneurs who ever lived, as these gentlemen had apparently been able to successfully use whole legions of these Oriental agents to build railroads in America through burning deserts and over topless mountain ranges — at a modest wage.

Finally, two years after the Dooner book was published, the government in Washington yielded to political pressure from the West and passed the Exclusion Act of 1882, which henceforth barred the immigration of Chinese laborers to the United States.

III

HE OBJECTIONS IN AMERICA, particularly in the western states, to the "Heathen Chinese," had been mainly three. The first one was to the effect that no matter how long the Chinese stayed in the country, they obdurately continued to remain Chinese in culture and spirit — and were also apparently

completely indifferent to the idea of abandoning their Oriental customs and picking up the vestments of Western culture. In short, it was held that the Chinese would not "assimilate."

The second objection was that by offering their services at lower scales of pay than was acceptable by "white" labor, the Chinese had driven from many occupational fields thousands of non-Chinese working men who could not, or would not, compete with them on their terms. Thus, the Chinese in America had become not only cooks, gardeners, and washermen (occupations to which they were welcome) but had also become miners, farmers, laborers, farm hands, fishermen, cigar makers, and furniture makers — occupations to which they were definitely not welcome, except by the owners of large corporations or enterprises such as railroads.

Actually, the Chinese entered almost all occupational fields in America which were available to the ordinary non-Oriental working man, as the Chinese seemed to be able to do anything. This adaptability on the part of the Chinese to any occupational situation had been noted with mixed feelings by the Spanish around Manila two hundred years before, at the time when the Spanish Crown was considering the permanent expulsion of the Orientals from the Philippines. At this time the Spaniards, as quoted by Mr. Wm. Schurz in his book *The Manila Galleon*, had said of the members of the Celestial Empire: "The Chinese seem to have been born with a special faculty for everything."

At this time Mr. Schurz also quotes a certain Father Chirino as having reported to the Crown that insofar as the Philippines were concerned — "From China come those who supply every sort of service, all dexterous, prompt, and cheap; from physician and barbers, to burden-bearers and porters. They are the tailors and shoemakers, metal-workers, silversmiths, sculptors, locksmiths, painters, masons, weavers, and finally, every kind of servitors in the commonwealth." This was a situation which the Californians apparently wished to avoid, even if it took massacres to do it.

The third general objection to the Chinese in America was related to the alleged lack of morality on the part of the Orientals, an objection which had been given popular voice throughout the United States as early as 1855 by Bayard Taylor through his book entitled *India, Japan, and China*.

In this book, Mr. Taylor had said: "It is my deliberate opinion that the Chinese are, morally, the most debased people on the face of the earth. Forms of vice, which in other countries are barely named, are in China so common that they excite no comment among the natives." Bayard Taylor then added: "Their touch is

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pollution, and harsh as the opinion may seem, justice to our race demands that they should not be allowed to settle on our soil."

However, writer Taylor's harsh opinion to the contrary, the Chinese were allowed to migrate freely to America until 1882, where their remarkable faculty for everything had come in very handy until the Civil War had been fought and the transcontinental railroad had been built. After that, the very special faculties which had made them tolerable became anathema.

The Spanish had also been plagued with a "Chinese Question" for centuries around Manila, because they too had intermittently found the Chinese there indispensable to their ambitions and at the same time completely undesirable. Thus, in their vexation, the Spanish had also at one time or another cried "immoral" against the Chinese. Mr. Schurz quotes a certain Hernando de los Rios Coronel, a Spanish official writing home from a place near the site of the present Hong-Kong where he had gone to establish a trading post with the Chinese, as saying in exasperation of those people with a special faculty for everything: Each Chinaman appears to be the devil incarnate, for there is no malice or deceit which they do not attempt. Although here they do not rob or plunder the foreigners openly, yet they do it by other and worse methods. This was said in 1598, a full two hundred and fifty seven years before Mr. Bayard Taylor had discovered for himself the alleged immorality of the Chinese.

Of this brush between the cultures of the Spanish and the Chinese in the Philippines from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries, Mr. Schurz says: It was the first instance of any considerable Caucasian-Mongolian race question, with all the phases of economic, political, and social antagonisms that the contact of people so different has so often carried with it. It is a chronicle of suspicions and fears, of risings and sanguinary retaliations, and of restrictions and expulsions, with long periods of quiescence between outbreaks of panic and violence.

The Chinese dangling at the ends of ropes in Los Angeles as late as October 24, 1871, bore clear evidence that this chronicle of "suspicions and fears" between the Caucasian and Mongolian cultures had not as yet been closed.

IV



THE CHAIN OF EVENTS which led to the massacre of Chinese in Los Angeles can of course be traced back to the law of 1863 placing the Orientals in California outside the protection of the courts, but the closest link in time to the debacle

was forged in Los Angeles itself just four days before the hangings; on Friday evening, October 20, 1871.

On that evening, a marriage between two Chinese was solemnized in Los Angeles by Justice of the Peace Trafford, and the following day, the *Los Angeles Daily News* reported the event as follows:

MELICAN MARRIAGE CEREMONY — The White's marriage ceremony is becoming quite fashionable among the followers of Confucius in this city. Such a contract was consummated between a "John" and a "Maly" last evening by Justice Trafford.

Then, the *News*, out of intimate knowledge of such matters, went on to observe:

It is supposed that these marriages are contracted to evade paying the purchase money to the Company whom the woman may have been previously bought by.

The *News'* supposition implying that the marriage of the two Chinese by Justice Trafford had been contracted solely for the purpose of having the groom attempt to evade paying for the girl was most heartily concurred with by a Chinese association called the Nin Yung Company, one of the many such Oriental groups in the city popularly known as "Tongs." First, the Nin Yung Company claimed that the girl involved in the marriage belonged to that association body and soul — and second, that the bride had actually been "abducted, held, and secreted" by its rival, the Hong Chow Company of Los Angeles before being taken to Justice Trafford to be married to a member of the aforementioned Hong Chow group. The girl's name was Ya Hit, and it is quite probable that she was very handsome.

Thus a bitter quarrel between the Nin Yung and Hong Chow companies quickly developed over the nuptials of the girl claimed by the Nin Yung Company, as the introduction of an American-type marriage into Chinese male-female affairs threw out of gear the system of female ownership then in practice among the Oriental companies which dealt in Chinese women; women who were relatively scarce in America.

If there had been no "Melican Marriage Ceremony," as the *News* had put it, and the girl Ya Hit had been simply spirited away and hidden from her previous owners (as was the custom in such disputes) the situation would have presented no real problem for the Nin Yung Company. All this association would have had to do was to go before a magistrate and swear out a bogus complaint to the effect that the girl had run away after having stolen something, and a warrant would have been issued for her arrest. Simulta-

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neously, the Nin Yung Company would have offered a generous reward to the officers of the law for her "capture," since, once the warrant was issued, she was technically a fugitive from justice.

The officers of the law, now empowered by an order from the court to arrest the girl, and spurred on by the offer of a reward for her capture, would have then searched high and low for Ya Hit and seized her wherever she might be, even if a hundred miles away in Santa Barbara or San Diego, and brought her back to Los Angeles. Then, after having been privately notified by the arresting officers that the girl was back in town, the Nin Yung Company would have put up Ya Hit's bail and taken her home — and when her case came up in court, there would have been no victim of a theft or witnesses to testify against her, so the case would have been dismissed. It was that simple.

The workings of this system, by which Chinese companies in California kept their prostitutes in absolute bondage until they sickened and died was open knowledge to every one in the state, including the helpful magistrates who issued the warrants for the arrest of these women, and the peace officers who served these warrants. Thus, on December 24, 1870, less than a year before the quarrel between the Nin Yung Company and the Hong Chow Company took place over the girl Ya Hit, the *Los Angeles Daily News*, in reporting an arrest of a Chinese woman by some Santa Barbara officers who had come to Los Angeles with a warrant for her, openly charged:

The woman arrested in this City on Thursday has been several times arrested in a similar manner, and her possession as often changed hands from one Company to that of another — through the instrumentality of law.

But in the case involving Ya Hit, the Hong Chow Company, through the machinations of its leader Yo Hing, had gummed up the system — by introducing into the situation the instrumentality of an American marriage. Therefore, certain Chinese tempers in Los Angeles flared, and those members of the Nin Yung and Hong Chow companies who already had revolvers, began to check them to see that they were in good working order — and those who did not have them, went to Caswell & Wright's store at the southeast corner of Aliso and Los Angeles streets and bought some.

These warlike preparations did not take long to complete, and on October 23, just three days after the marriage of Ya Hit and taken place, the first skirmish between the Nin Yung and Hong Chow companies took place, when two of their warriors exchanged pistol shots in Negro Alley, a narrow thoroughfare lined on both

sides with Chinese residences and business houses near downtown Los Angeles.

In this fight, neither of the participants was injured, and both of these bravos managed to flee the scene before the Los Angeles police arrived. The following day, however, Tuesday, October 24, 1871, they were ferreted out by the officers of the law and taken to Justice Wilson H. Gray's court for a preliminary examination. The result of this examination was that both of the Chinese fighters were held to answer to the grand jury on charges of having attempted to murder each other.

After the examination, the question of bail for the litigants arose, and Sam Yuen, a merchant in Negro Alley and the leader of the Nin Yung Company, stepped forward to offer the court sureties for his fighting man, Ah Choy. At this time the Chinese merchant stated to Judge Gray that he had six thousand dollars in gold in a trunk in his store in Negro Alley to back up his position.

Judge Gray was disinclined to believe that Sam Yuen actually had that much money to offer as surety for Ah Choy — and instructed Los Angeles police officer Emil Harris to proceed to the Yuen establishment in Negro Alley to check the merchant's story.

At this point, attorney Andrew Jackson King, a former city attorney, county judge, and state assemblyman, who was representing the Hong Chow man, stepped forward — to voice his own disbelief that the leader of the opposing Nin Yung Company had that much money to offer as surety for Ah Choy. Judge Gray then permitted attorney King to accompany officer Emil Harris to Negro Alley to check Sam Yuen's statement. Negro Alley was only four short blocks from the court, running north and south for one block along what is now the west side of the four hundred block of North Los Angeles Street.

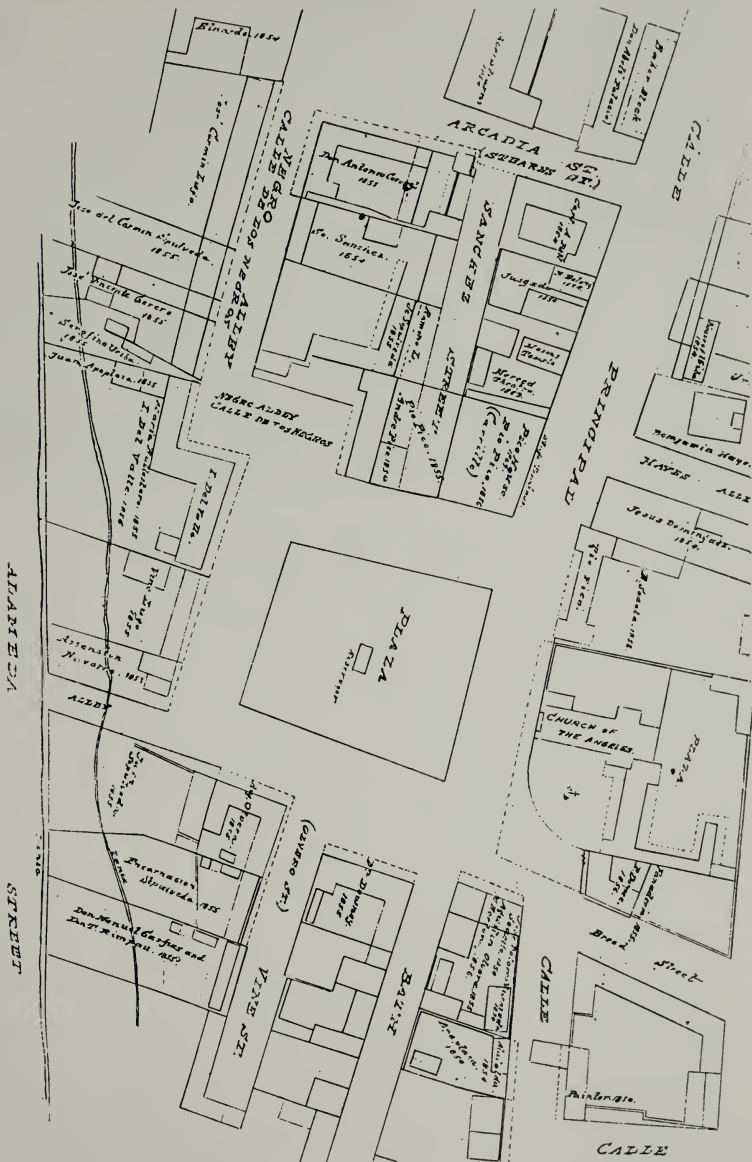
In a short time, policeman Harris and attorney King returned to the court to tell Judge Gray that Sam Yuen did in fact have six thousand dollars in gold in his store as he claimed. Thus Ah Choy of the Nin Yung Company was allowed to go out on bail.

Ah Choy, upon being released in court, was then personally escorted from the courtroom to where he lived in the Beaudry Block, on the east side of Negro Alley, by police officer Emil Harris, a courtesy and a vital service which could hardly have gone unnoticed by members of the Hong Chow Company and their leader, Yo Hing.

Yo Hing, who had been responsible for the marriage of Ya Hit, was a man who had at one time been attorney Andrew Jackson King's cook, and who was now manufacturing cigars. He was gen-

THE LOS ANGELES SURVEY MAP OF 1876

This map, made by A. J. Stahberg, shows the location of all the principal buildings of Los Angeles at the time of the Chinese Massacre. However, it does not include Commercial Street to the South where much of the action took place.





— Photo by the Author


COMMERCIAL STREET IN 1960

This view, taken from a position east of the Los Angeles Street intersection, looks directly at the Federal Buildings. In 1871, John Goller's wagon shop was located on the site now occupied by the Hotel Diamond. Some Chinese were hanged in front of the wagon shop on Los Angeles Street, and around the corner on Commercial Street more met their fate on "temporary" gallows — two "prairie schooners" which just happened to be parked there.

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erally popular with many influential Angelenos — although he was once described by a non-Oriental contemporary of his as a “guttersnipe Talleyrand.”

V

PPROXIMATELY A HALF AN HOUR after officer Harris had taken his friend Ah Choy home, one of the city of Los Angeles' other six policemen, a mounted officer named Jesus Bilderrain, a former city assessor, made a leisurely tour around the Chinese quarters in Negro Alley, apparently checking for trouble, as it was open knowledge in town that the Hong Chow and the Nin Yung companies were not through fighting over the marriage of Ya Hit.

Officer Bilderrain first rode east along Arcadia Street for two blocks, starting at Main Street. He rode past Sanchez Street to Caswell & Wright store which was located diagonally across the street from the south entrance to Negro Alley. While near the store, he had a leisurely chat with one of its owners. Then officer Bilderrain entered Negro Alley itself, proceeding north along its entire length of one block until he came to Plaza Street, turning west at that point to Main Street two blocks away. There, where the Pico House hotel still stands, he turned south and back to his starting point at Arcadia and Main Streets, where he stopped at Higby's Saloon to refresh himself after his tour. He had found everything quiet at Negro Alley; and at Higby's he found his brother officer Estevan Sanchez, another mounted policeman, refreshing himself at the bar.

While officers Bilderrain and Sanchez were drinking at Higby's, shots were suddenly heard, coming from the direction of Negro Alley, and it was not difficult for anyone to surmise that the Hong Chow and Nin Yung companies were at it again — which in fact was the case. And once again, Ah Choy was involved. This time, the Nin Yung man was shot in the neck by an unknown Hong Chow man, receiving an injury from which he died three days later in a wash house in Negro Alley.

Upon hearing shooting going on in the direction of the Chinese quarters, police officer Jesus Bilderrain immediately left Higby's and rode hastily to Negro Alley, where he came upon what he later described as a big battle taking place between several Chinese, who were fighting in the middle of the narrow thoroughfare. There was already one man down in the dirt, with blood spurting from a hole in his neck. It was Ah Choy, of the Nin Yung Company, and upon whether or not the policeman recognized him as Sam Yuen's man probably hinge the events which were to take place immediately thereafter.

Upon dismounting, officer Bilderrain dropped his gun, which was quickly retrieved for him by a man named D. W. Moody, a hanger-on who had been watching the Chinese fighting in the alley prior to the arrival of the policeman — and the fighting Chinese, upon sensing the presence of the officer, promptly scattered and ran, all of them dashing into the adobe houses which comprised the Coronel Block on the west side of Negro Alley, across from the Beaudry Block, where Ah Choy lived.

At this point, as the only victim of the shooting who was visible was Ah Choy, a Nin Yung man, the officer should have naturally been looking for Hong Chow men. Officer Bilderrain, however, apparently without differentiating between members of the Nin Yung and Hong Chow companies, instructed a certain Adolph Celis, another hanger-on present at the alley, to help him catch any of the fleeing Chinese fighters.

Upon being asked for assistance by the officer, Adolph Celis instantly moved to obey — but his eagerness to help was just as quickly checked by the fact that two Chinese had suddenly emerged from one of the houses in the Coronel Block and begun to fire their pistols at him and Bilderrain. One of the shooters was Sam Yuen himself, the leader of the Nin Yung Company — and according to Celis later on, Sam Yuen, before beginning to fire at him and policeman Bilderrain, called out to the officer saying "Over here!" Bilderrain, however, apparently assigned no particular significance to the fact that Sam Yuen was actually calling out to him, and charged straight at the Nin Yung leader, pistol in hand, calling out to Adolph Celis to help him. It was at this point that Sam Yuen and his friend then opened fire upon officer Bilderrain and Celis — immediately afterward fleeing back into the house which they had emerged. Their bullets had missed Bilderrain and Celis, however, striking some hangers-on standing near the Beaudry Block on the east side of Negro Alley, wounding them superficially.

Now with a leap and a bound, policeman Bilderrain charged into the house where he had seen Sam Yuen and his brother gunman disappear — but he did not remain out of sight of those watching him in the alley for long. In a few moments he reappeared on the long porch of the Coronel Block houses minus his hat, his pistol, and with a gunshot on his shoulder. He stood panting on the porch and blew a long blast on his police whistle.

Almost at the same time that policeman Bilderrain was blowing his whistle, an ex-saloon keeper lately turned rancher named Robert Thompson appeared on the scene, accompanied by none other than officer Estevan Sanchez, whom Bilderrain had left at

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Higby's. After a brief conference with the wounded Bilderrain, who was preparing to leave the scene to get medical attention, citizen Thompson and policeman Sanchez began to pour pistol shots into the houses in the Coronel Block. Officer Sanchez, however, who was apparently off duty at the time, soon ran out of ammunition, and hurried away to get more, leaving Robert Thompson to pepper away at the Chinese houses.

As the Chinese in the Coronel Block were not returning the fire, Thompson climbed on the porch of the house into which he had been pouring shots, and walked toward the front door, the upper portion of which was partially made of glass. Adolph Celis, who had just a few moments before sneaked a glance into the very house Thompson was now approaching and had seen it was full of armed Chinese, instantly warned Thompson that the occupants there would kill him, but Thompson disregarded the warning, stating to Celis: "I'll look out after that!" and pistol in hand, boldly stepped up to the door. He was met there by a barrage of shots fired from the inside of the house, and staggered backward with a bullet in his chest, muttering, "I am killed." Citizen Robert Thompson died approximately an hour later at Doctor Theodore Wollweber's drug-store a couple of blocks away on Main Street.

At precisely the moment Robert Thompson was staggering away from the door of the Chinese house, the city marshal and titular chief of police of the city of Los Angeles, Francis Baker, arrived at Negro Alley, having heard the shooting going on and Bilderrain's whistle. He did not waste any time in ordering the entire Coronel Block surrounded, obtaining his guards from among the crowd that had gathered in the vicinity of the Chinese quarters. The city marshal ordered his guards to shoot any Chinese that might try to escape their houses on the west side of the alley.

At this time, policeman Estevan Sanchez returned to Negro Alley, accompanied by Cyrus Lyons, an old-time "Judge of the Plains" for Rancho Cahuenga — and together with Lyons, ran north along Negro Alley to the end of the Coronel Block and tried to enter the corral at the back of the building for the purpose of intercepting any fleeing Orientals who might be attempting to leave the compound to gain the freedom of Plaza Street to the north of the block. But he and Lyons were met by a rear-guard action on the part of some of the fleeing Chinese fighters, and were driven back into Negro Alley proper by their shooting.

Policeman Sanchez then joined forces with a special police officer named Robert Hester, an ex-deputy constable, and Sanchez and Hester then tried the same maneuver that Sanchez had tried

with citizen Lyons — but with the same result. They were driven back into the alley by the gunfire from the corral. No more attempts were made after that to intercept any Chinese fleeing the Coronel block.

When Marshal Baker had worked his way completely around the Coronel Block placing his sentries, and was back at the south end of Negro Alley on Arcadia Street, he saw that a group of men had seized a Chinese, who, as it turned out, had bolted out of one of the houses in the Beaudry Block on the east side of the alley. Marshal Baker quickly went to where the Chinese was being held, and questioned him. The man's name was Wong Tuck, and he had a pistol — a four-barrelled affair, with one shot spent.

After briefly examining Wong Tuck on the spot and taking away his pistol, Marshal Baker released the Oriental — and himself walked away from the excited crowd which had seized the fleeing Chinese and did not return to Negro Alley for several hours. He had decamped from the vicinity.

In the meantime, after having been so unexpectedly and suddenly released by the marshal, Wong Tuck quickly made a run for his house in the Beaudry Block, managing to get inside his quarters just ahead of several shots fired at him by members of the crowd that had just seized him. If Marshal Baker heard the shots as he walked away, he did not show any signs of it.

Not long after Marshal Baker had taken leave of the vicinity of Negro Alley, the sheriff (and ex officio tax collector) of the county arrived at the scene of all the shootings and commotion. He was James F. Burns, former county school superintendent and city treasurer, who the month before had been defeated for reelection to the sheriff's office by William "Billy" Rowland — and who consequently, was to relinquish his lucrative office to Sheriff-elect Rowland in March of the following year, 1872. James F. Burns, in short, was at that time a lame-duck sheriff of the county — and while at Negro Alley, all he did was to supplement the city marshal's original guard around the Coronel Block with some impromptu deputizations of his own, and then, like Marshal Baker, he too left the vicinity of Negro Alley; himself not to be seen around those parts for several hours.

Sheriff Burns, however, while at Negro Alley, had apparently seen that the situation around the Chinese quarters had some serious possibilities, and after leaving the area, sent a man named Madigan, a printer by trade, around to the home of the mayor of Los Angeles, to tell his honor to either come to his office for a report or to go to Negro Alley and see for himself, as there was one

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hell of a row developing there over the shooting of some whites by the Chinese.

Subsequently, Mayor Cristobal Aguilar, one of the most durable politicians in the history of the city, appeared at Negro Alley, mounted on his horse. Mayor Aguilar, who since 1850 had been a city councilman seven times, a county supervisor eight times, and who was now serving his third term as mayor of Los Angeles, surveyed the turbulent scene around Negro Alley quietly — then just as quietly departed, not to be seen near there again all that day or night. And at about this time, policeman Estevan Sanchez also decamped from the area, not to be seen around there any more that day.

Meanwhile, other officers of the law began to make their casual appearance near the south end of Negro Alley, where Los Angeles Street came to a dead-end at Arcadia Street. They were police officers Emil Harris and George Gard — as well as the constable of the county, Richard Kerren.

These officers, however, also made no effort to enter the Coronel Block to investigate if the shooters who had wounded Bilderrain and Thompson were still in the building, nor did they attempt to disperse the excited crowd gathering in the vicinity of the Chinese quarters — a mob that was becoming larger and more bellicose by the minute. Instead, the officers merely loitered across the street from the south end of Negro Alley, near the hay scales at the southwest corner of Los Angeles Street and Arcadia Street.

Then, at approximately six o'clock, an hour or so after he had been shot, the news that the daring Robert Thompson had died at Wollweber's drugstore reached Negro Alley, and a passion seized the crowd guarding the Coronel Block.

One of the first persons to learn that citizen Thompson had been killed by the Chinese was city councilman George E. Fall, and he, along with many other prominent Angelenos, hurried to the vicinity of Negro Alley. Indeed, news had by then traveled throughout the city to the effect that the Chinese in Negro Alley were "killing whites wholesale."

On his way to the scene of the shootings, Councilman Fall encountered a Chinese stealthily scurrying south on Main Street; a "Celestial" obviously meaning to put as much distance between himself and Negro Alley as he could. Councilman Fall then picked up a loose plank from the board sidewalk and hit the Chinese over the head with it, chasing the Oriental into the Blue Wing Saloon, where he lost him.

Soon after he arrived at the Alley, Councilman Fall, who was also president of the one and only volunteer fire company in the city, and who had in fact just returned from San Francisco by boat where he had gone to contract for the purchase of some new fire-fighting equipment for Los Angeles, was prevailed upon by some ingenious members of the crowd surging around the Coronel Block to let the city fire hose be used in an attempt to drown out the Chinese from their quarters in the Coronel Block.

Councilman Fall agreed to let the fire hose be used by the mob for the purpose explained to him, subsequently justifying his actions by stating that he had wanted the fire-fighting equipment to be on hand around Negro Alley in case some one in the mob decided to fire the building in which the Chinese were penned. This, of course, was an excellent excuse, as the monstrous Chicago fire was then less than two weeks old and its memory was fresh in everyone's mind. Also, the Coronel Block was adjacent to some buildings facing Sanchez Street on the north, and thus just across that narrow thoroughfare from the buildings on Main Street, which came all the way back to Sanchez Street, such as the new Masonic Lodge, the Mercedes Theatre, and the Pico House Hotel.

But as it turned out, the crowd soon tired of playing with the fire hose, and the attempt to drown out the Chinese in the Coronel Block was abandoned.

Not long after the news of Robert Thompson's death had reached Negro Alley, firing up the crowd gathered there to a fever pitch, the once-captured and once-released Wong Tuck made another try to get away from his house in the Beaudry Block across the Alley from the Coronel Block. This time Wong Tuck had a hatchet with him, but was quickly overpowered by a man named Ramon Sortorel.

While Sortorel and Wong Tuck were struggling, another member of the mob ran up to Tuck and attempted to plunge a two-foot-long piece of broken sword into him, crying; "Oh you Chinaman, you had a gun!"

Peace officers Emil Harris and Richard Kerren immediately took charge of Wong Tuck, and with the assistance of a man named Charles Avery, started to walk the Oriental to the jail four blocks away. The eager crowd churned around them, shouting for Tuck's life.

The officers and citizen Avery continued west on Arcadia Street, and finally managed to get around the corner at Main Street with their prisoner, but once there, someone planted a blow on the back of citizen Avery's ear, and someone else pinned policeman

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Emil Harris' arms behind him, and Wong Tuck belonged to the crowd. There is no record to the effect that any one attacked Constable Kerren at this time.

A rope was quickly furnished the crowd by the owners of Broderick & Reilly's book store near the corner of Main and Temple streets, and a few minutes later, Wong Tuck could be seen dangling from a corral gate a block away, at the northwest corner of Temple and New High streets, just across from the St. Athanasius Episcopal Church, the first and only Protestant church in Los Angeles in those days.

For a while, a few members of the crowd amused themselves by banging the dead Wong Tuck's head back and forth against one of the gate's uprights, while Constable Kerren stood quietly by. In the meantime, policeman Harris had returned to the mouth of Negro Alley, where he joined his brother officer George Gard. The mob around these officers grew larger and larger as time passed.

This crowd, which was allowed to develop from a mere gathering of loiterers who happened to be present when the Chinese companies had first begun to fight, until it became a mob of formidable proportions, was, by past and contemporary standards, a most extraordinary gathering not only in size but also in character; a mob which in all probabilities could not have been mustered up in the year 1871 in any California town excepting Los Angeles.

It was a San Francisco crowd of twenty years earlier recreated in Los Angeles, composed in the majority of scores of hoodlums, thieves, gamblers, thugs, and shady idlers of all nationalities; a San Francisco crowd of a type to have been found in the Bay City only before the famous "Businessman's Revolution" in the form of the Vigilance Committee of 1856 took over the reins of San Francisco's government and brought some semblance of order to the town.

But these characters now gathered around Negro Alley in 1871 were Los Angeles' very own; a mob attracted to the bosom of Damascus of the West and nurtured there by the remarkable amount and scope of civic corruption in the town. For Los Angeles was, in 1871, and had been ever since Company E of Stevenson's Regiment (the Bowery Company) mustered out there in 1848, a wide-open town in the fullest sense of the word.

Even the casual student of criminology will come to the conclusion that a town such as Los Angeles was in 1871, where fortunes were being made in real estate, mining, transportation, and agriculture, and which at the same time did not even have a simple gambling, prostitution, or drunk ordinance, was bound to attract to itself hordes of rough-and-ready individuals looking for a chance

to make some easy cash. Such was the City of the Angels in the early seventies; the richest, the largest, the most influential, and at the same time the most wide-open community in Southern California; a town in which a man could buy a drink in a full one hundred and ten out of its approximately two hundred and eighty five business enterprises; where he could gamble and carouse in girlie houses to his heart's content. It was a haven for thugs.

It follows, therefore, that being wide-open, the incidence of criminality in the city of Los Angeles in those days, and the incidence of criminality around the area it dominated, was extraordinary. In 1872, when the city of Los Angeles comprised over forty percent of the total population of Los Angeles County, the number of felons in the state's prison at San Quentin who had been committed to custody from the Los Angeles area was double that of any other county in California, and fully one half of the total number committed from San Francisco City and County, which at that time had a population eight times greater than Los Angeles County. The *Los Angeles Daily News* printed these statistics on May 30, 1872.

Actually, so generally disproportionate were the criminal statistics coming out of the Los Angeles area, that on May 18, 1872, the Superintendent of the Census Office in Washington D. C. wrote to the clerk of Los Angeles County asking if there hadn't been some mistake made in the felony figures the clerk had sent in for the year ending June 1, 1870, cautioning the clerk that misdemeanor figures should not be included in the yearly tabulation of criminal statistics, only felonies. The superintendent of the census office advised in his letter to the clerk of Los Angeles County that "An impression very unfavorable to your section might be created by the publication of these statistics, unaccompanied by some explanation."

The clerk of Los Angeles county could have also pointed out an explanation to Washington regarding the criminal activities in his area. He might have pointed out that the principal city in his county was governed on the basis of a city charter which specifically granted to the City Council the power to license such lively and crime-breeding places as bawdy-houses, one-night-stand "dance halls," and gambling joints — and that the city council of Los Angeles had always been very much inclined to use this extraordinary civic prerogative on the theory that the license fees which these activities brought into the city coffers were indispensable.

The clerk of Los Angeles county could have also pointed out to Washington that not only was Los Angeles a wide-open town without even a drunk ordinance, but that its police department was

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completely ineffectual for the following reasons: One — the police officers of the city were political appointees, being put on their jobs by interested members of the City Council formed into a “Board of Police.” Thus, it would hardly be wise for an officer to put too much pressure on a crime-breeding place when a member of the City Council might have vested interest in it. Two — the titular head of the police department, the City Marshal, was, throughout 1870-71-72, utterly without power to discipline his officers as he could not suspend them from their positions for any cause whatsoever. This power was tightly held by the “Board of Police” of the city council. (It was not until ordinance 322 and 323 were passed on January 10, 1873, that the chief of police of the city of Los Angeles could suspend an officer in his department). Three — the titular head of the police department, the City Marshal, was not only a dog catcher, but also the city tax collector, a job which netted him two and a half percent of all the tax monies he collected for the city, a job which directed his efforts away from the task of running the police department, leaving the police force of the city without a head, and further demoralizing its officers.

In fact, in asserting that the ineffectuality of the police force of the city of Los Angeles was a contributing issue to the criminality of the Los Angeles area, the clerk of the county could have sent to the Census Office, as an “accompanying explanation” to any future statistics he might forward to Washington, an editorial published in the *Los Angeles Star* on May 9, 1872, entitled “An Ineffectual Police Force” — and the Superintendent of the Census would have gotten the hint. The editorial reads:

“The incompetency of our police force has so often been demonstrated that it no longer remains questionable to anyone. It has become a byword, that whenever and wherever officers are required to preserve the public peace, or to protect the private property of citizens, they are least likely to be on hand at the opportune moment. The law itself recognizes neither person nor position, and its officers are expected to deal it out with like impartiality, but in this respect, even the faithfulness of the members of our police force is impeached. It is alleged, however, that when a Chinawoman escapes from a brothel, there is wonderful activity manifested in certain quarters to recapture the runaway and return her to her vile den wherein she has shown a disinclination to reside, a special pecuniary benefit accruing from such services being represented as the inducement. Presiding over a low gambling hall and participating in the business therein, instead of exerting themselves in putting down such illegal institutions, are openly avowed to be the regular nightly avocations of more than one of its members. It is insinuated that the Marshal has greater regard for those secondary duties from which he obtains fat prerequisites in the way of fees than he has

for the proficiency of his subordinates. There are probably men employed on the force who desire to do their duty as public officers, in all occasions, but as a whole, the organization is rotten from head to foot and wants to undergo a thorough cleansing. It has become an absolute necessity.

The clerk of Los Angeles County could have also pointed out to Washington another feature of the city of Los Angeles which attracted "hard cases" to its environs by the scores, and consequently, also increased the criminality of the community; that is, that Los Angeles was also politically wide-open; a place where a man could sell his vote at election times as easily as he could buy a drink at all other times.

A few weeks before the Chinese massacre; on September 6, 1871, during a state-wide primary, when the city had only approximately twenty four hundred registered voters, the *Los Angeles Express* estimated that approximately twenty thousand dollars had changed hands that day for the purpose of vote-buying and selling — a process which was made easier to manipulate by the fact that a good portion of the electorate was under the influence of alcohol, as (according to the *Los Angeles Star* of the next day) there had been served and consumed in the city of Los Angeles during the election seven thousand lagers, three thousand whiskeys, and two thousand glasses of wine, for a grand total of twelve thousand drinks. This in a city of less than six thousand population, counting women and children.

The following year, on March 8, 1872, since matters had not improved, the *Los Angeles Star*, in an agonizing reappraisal of its community, asked of its readers: "What is the matter with Los Angeles?" then went on to remark: To our mind, the chief cause is obvious, and lies in the fact of the unfavorable and unsettled condition of our society, the apprehended insecurity of capital and prosperity, the manifest disregard of the sanctity of human life, and those moral obligations so essential to peace and safety of all communities and which to the orderly and law-abiding are prerequisites of happiness and prosperity.


The *Star* then added: That both our city and county have been loosely governed cannot successfully be denied, and so long as our statutory laws are rendered inoperative by the want of proper local enforcement, and their almost daily violations acquiesced and winked at by the people, we need not expect any change for the better.

Thus, with all its built-in attractions for the reckless and the dissolute, it is not difficult to understand how on October 24, 1871,

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the city of Los Angeles was able to produce a relatively enormous crowd of hoodlums of all types and nationalities to surround the Chinese penned up in the Coronel Block at Negro Alley. The city council was the host to this dangerous legion; the city charter was the Magna Carta of this mob; and the disorganized police its corrupt chaperon. Now this large crowd, much of which was armed, milled around the vicinity of Negro Alley, waiting for a chance to pounce upon the officially-hated Chinese and their property. For was it not open talk around town that one of them had six thousand dollars in gold in his store in the Coronel Block?

VI

OMETIME AFTER THE DEATH OF Robert Thompson had been avenged by the mob and Wong Tuck had been strung up by the neck until he was dead, two more of Los Angeles' six police officers appeared in the vicinity of Negro Alley. They were officers Sands and Bryant, bringing the total number of peace officers present there to six: Harris, Gard, Sands, Bryant, Constable Kerren, and special policeman Robert Hester — with mounted officers Bilderrain and Sanchez not present, along with their chief, Marshal Francis Baker.

As these officers congregated in the vicinity of Negro Alley, so did many other residents of the city, who came there either to watch the fun or to join in the target shooting going on, with the Coronel Block being the object upon which all gunsights were trained. At one time, when two Chinese women appeared at the doorway of one of the houses, the crowd fired at them, and one of the marksmen was Constable Kerren. One of the women was obviously hit, and staggered back into the house. The crowd continued to pepper away at the Chinese quarters until long after darkness had fallen upon the town.

At one time, according to officer Bryant, someone firing at the Chinese houses discharged a pistol so close to his ear as to deafen him — at which time policeman Bryant remonstrated with the careless shooter but did not arrest him.

A fiery-tongued orator also appeared in front of the Coronel Block between six and nine p. m. He was a man named King, an employee of Los Angeles' only railroad at the time, which ran from the city to the harbor at Wilmington, twenty miles away. Mr. King worked at the depot on Commercial and Alameda streets, and was known as "King of the Depot." This orator made inflammatory speeches against the Chinese in general, an easy subject to

talk upon in those days, and the patriotic crowd of yeggs cheered him heartily.

Officer Gard attempted at one time to put an end to Mr. King's silver-tongued orations, but finding that Mr. King was not easily dissuaded, and that the crowd listening to him was not in a temper which would allow any heavy-handed tactics to be used against him, gave up his attempt, and Mr. King continued his speeches.

Then, as night descended upon Los Angeles, the gas lights in the dozen-or-so saloons in the vicinity of Negro Alley were turned on, while inside these lively establishments, many hoodlums planned further strategy to be used against the Chinese being held prisoner in the Coronel Block.

At approximately nine in the evening, or a full four hours after Robert Thompson had been shot, a maneuver against the Chinese was put into effect. This scheme was generally credited to have been the brain-child of a man named Refugio Botello — and was ingenuity itself. Some men climbed up on the flat roof of the Coronel Block, and using pickaxes, chopped holes in it over every apartment below, then poured gunfire through the holes.

The result was immediate. Two Chinese ran out of their houses and into the street, where they were instantly cut down by gunfire from the marksmen stationed around the Coronel Block.

One of the holes chopped in the roof was apparently cut over a lantern hanging from the ceiling in one of the apartments below, and flames could be seen coming out through it into the night air. This brought a quick reaction from officer Gard, who quickly climbed onto the roof to see that the fire did not spread, and once satisfied that the flames were out, climbed back down to the street.

While on the roof, and while helping douse out the flames in the hole, officer Gard let a young man named A. F. Crenshaw "hold" his shotgun, and subsequently, Crenshaw was accused of having fired with this weapon upon some Chinese huddled in the corral among some horses at the back of the Coronel Block, a charge which officer Gard helped Crenshaw disprove by testifying that the shotgun he had let Crenshaw hold was as fully loaded when he got it back from the young man as when he had first let Crenshaw hold it.

A. F. Crenshaw, who was known as "Curly Crenshaw" to his friends, was a typical member of the Los Angeles underworld fraternity. At the time of the Chinese massacre, Crenshaw gave his age as twenty-two, but according to the newspapers, he appeared to be no more than seventeen or eighteen. The *Los Angeles Daily News* said of him on February 20, 1872: Since being here, his as-

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sociations have been of the lowest character. His favorite resort was a rendezvous of low women, pick-pockets, and cut-throats.

After the two Chinese had run out of their houses and had been cut down by gunfire, no more Orientals came out of the Coronel Block, no matter how many shots were poured into the apartments through the holes in the roof. Time began to hang heavy on the hands of the mobsters prowling around the Chinese quarters.

Then two daring hoodlums found a large rock on Requena Street which had fallen off a wagon earlier in the day, and using it at a battering ram, broke down one of the doors in the Coronel building.

The mobsters quickly ran off the porch after breaking the door down, remembering what had happened to the lion-hearted Robert Thompson, who even now was developing rigor mortis in his house on New High Street, not far from where Wong Tuck dangled at the end of a rope. But the Chinese inside the apartments made not a move or a sound, and this emboldened a carpenter named Charles Cox, who fashioned some kind of fire-ball and threw it inside the apartment through the opening made with the rock.

This maneuver on the part of the carpenter brought an immediate response from police officer Emil Harris, who was also a prominent member of the brand new volunteer fire department organized just the month before. The officer ordered Mr. Cox to enter the building and retrieve his fire-ball, and when the carpenter refused to go inside the building alone, officer Harris went in with him. A few moments later, the fire-ball could be seen sailing through the air and out into the middle of Negro Alley, where it burned for a long time, throwing a flickering light on part of the startling events which were about to take place.

Since nothing happened to Cox and officer Harris when they entered the building, the crowd instantly realized that it was safe to enter the Coronel Block, and began to pour into the Chinese quarters in an ever-surging, eager throng.

The Coronel Block was an L-shaped affair, like two dominoes set at right angles to each other, with half of it running east from Sanchez Street to Negro Alley on the north side of Arcadia Street, and half of it running north from Arcadia Street to Plaza Street, forming the west side of Negro Alley. A long porch, raised about three feet off the ground, ran around the entire building, both on its Arcadia Street and Negro Alley side. The apartments in the building were almost all connected by doors, and once inside the houses, the mob found dozens of Chinese men and women cowering in their quarters.

The Chinese who were found already dead inside the apartments, probably killed by the gunfire through the roof, were thrown out into the streets, where their bodies were kicked and pummelled by drunken and infuriated mobsters and then dragged off to be hanged. At this time some of the mobsters cut off the queues from some of the Chinese victims for souvenirs. Of those Chinese who were found alive in the Coronel apartments, some of them were dragged along the street, conscious or unconscious, to various hanging places. Pandemonium reigned.

As soon as the now unmanageable crowd had gained access to the Chinese quarters in the Coronel Block, three of the peace officers present at the riot immediately cast their lot with the Chinese. Policeman Bryant and special officer Hester wrested the Chinese women from the crowd and took them to the safety of the jail. Police officer Sands took it upon himself to rescue as many Chinese males as he could, and in a fury, gun in hand, managed to save four of them.

Policeman Harris and Gard, however, instantly became concerned with one thing alone: the safety of Sam Yuen's store, where a few hours before, officer Harris had seen with his own eyes six thousand dollars in gold.

During their struggle to get to Sam Yuen's business establishment, officer Gard and Harris became separated, and while Gard was wandering through the apartments in the Coronel Block, he heard an aged Chinese calling out to him from under a bed. Gard went over to the Oriental and tried to help him out from under his hiding place, as the old man was wounded. While policeman Gard was holding the Chinese's hand, a group of men rushed into the apartment and poured a fusillade of pistol shots into the Oriental, leaving Gard holding the hand of a dead man. Officer Gard then dropped the man's hand and continued his search for his brother officer Emil Harris.

Soon afterward, policeman Gard ran across a young Chinese woman in one of the apartments, one that Bryant and Hester had apparently missed. This woman Gard personally turned over to "Curly" Crenshaw, with instructions to the young man to take her to jail. The ultimate fate of this girl is not known, as later, Crenshaw could not remember what he did with her that night.

Meanwhile, somewhere else in the Coronel Block, officer Emil Harris was busy personally turning Chinese males over to the mob, instructing the eager hoodlums to take the Orientals to jail — whereupon all the Chinese handed over to the crowd by officer Harris were summarily hanged within sight of the south entrance to

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Negro Alley. One of these victims was a young Chinese doctor named Chien Lee Tong, known around town as "Gene" Tong, who, before being hanged, was shot through the mouth and robbed. Among the hoodlums to whom doctor "Gene" Tong was entrusted by policeman Harris was the ubiquitous "Curly" Crenshaw.

The busiest gallows for a time was the porch roof of John Goller's wagon shop, at the southwest corner of Commercial and Los Angeles streets, just one block down the street from the south entrance to Negro Alley. Goller, an ex city councilman who lived over his shop, objected bitterly to the actions of the mob, but his objections were silenced very effectively when a tall teamster with a rifle told him to shut up or he would get it too. The ropes used to hang the Chinese from Goller's shop porch were cut from a clothesline furnished to the crowd by a woman who ran a boarding house across the street from the wagon shop. During the hangings, a mobster who had climbed on the roof of the porch to help haul the Chinese up on ropes, danced a jig on his perch and sang out: "Come on, boys, patronize home trade!" obviously trying to compete with the men who were hanging Chinese to the sides of some prairie schooners parked in the street around the corner on Commercial Street; wagons that were from out of town and therefore not "home" establishments as Goller's shop was. Meanwhile, other mobsters were hanging Chinese from the corral gate where Wong Tuck had met his fate three hours earlier.

Eventually, officers Harris and Gard found their way to the Sam Yuen store, after battling their way through the eager and violent mob. And once there, they did not budge from the premises the rest of the night, while bedlam reigned around them.

While the hangings were going on, none other than Marshal Baker returned to Negro Alley, where he at once set about the task of trying to make the looters at work there disgorge their booty. But as there were scores of men milling about in the Chinese quarters, with dozens of them busy seizing anything of value available in the apartments, the marshal found his task an impossible one.

Here was a man scurrying out of the Coronel Block with a roast goose and several bottles of wine under his coat. And there was another one carting off some sacks of rice — while another man was making off with some bolts of silk. Marshal Baker did not know where to begin in his efforts to stop the looting of the Chinese houses.

But as to hangings, the marshal saw nothing — subsequently stating that while at Negro Alley during the riot, he had seen "no ropes or hangings." And as to Wong Tuck the marshal said that

he had "heard" that some one had hanged him after he had set him free earlier in the afternoon.

At approximately the same time that Marshal Baker returned to Negro Alley, so did Sheriff James F. Burns, who immediately attempted to intercede on behalf of the Chinese — at one time making a speech to the rioters asking them to stop their depredations. He made his plea while standing on top of a barrel, and his speech suddenly came to an end when the top of the barrel gave way, plunging the sheriff to the ground amidst the delighted hoots of the mob. Then, when the infuriated sheriff attempted to physically rescue some of the Chinese victims from the crowd, he was confronted by pistols and a threat to lynch him too. At this time Sheriff Burns decided that the situation was completely beyond remedy, and that discretion was the better part of valor; probably also reflecting that it would have been too ironical to be murdered by some of the very men who had probably already helped to deal him a political death-blow at the polls a month before during the gay election of twelve thousand drinks.

Adding to the success of the mob in its lynchings and looting was the speed with which the crowd worked; speed born partly out of the fear that the federal troops stationed at Drum Barracks in Wilmington, only twenty miles away by railroad, would show up any minute during the riot. Two of the mobsters subsequently testified that they thought that the "dough" boys from Wilmington would surely arrive — but as the soldiers had not been notified of the emeute in the Angel City, they did not come.

Of course, among the citizenry of Los Angeles present at the riot, there were some persons who were not hoodlums or professional politicians, and who consequently tended to view the Chinese in California with a somewhat dispassionate turn of mind; persons who did not want to see the Orientals in Los Angeles hanged without some kind of legal show being afforded them first if the Chinese had committed some kind of crime. And at least two such citizens took an active part in trying to rescue Orientals from the mob. This they did at a great personal risk, as the mob was well armed and was not to be denied its victims.

One of these citizens was Robert Maclay Widney, an ex school-teacher turned real estate entrepreneur who was subsequently to become judge of the Seventeenth Judicial District of California and one of the founders of the University of Southern California.

Robert M. Widney, upon being notified by a friend that a crowd was murdering Chinese wholesale around Negro Alley, obtained a pistol from his brother and went to the scene of the kill-

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ings, where he waded into a group of mobsters and rescued four Chinese from its clutches. At this time, Widney, like sheriff Burns, was also threatened with instant "liquidation" by the mobsters confronting him, but being more hot-headed than Burns, openly challenged the crowd to go ahead and try to liquidate him. The mobsters then let Mr. Widney go ahead to the safety of the jail with his rescued Orientals.

A 27-year-old attorney named Henry Hazard, who had just three years before gotten his law degree at the University of Michigan, and who was later to become the mayor of the city of Los Angeles, was another man who attempted to dissuade the mad-dened crowd from murdering Chinese. Young Hazard had witnessed the Chinese quarters being broken into with the rock, and saw carpenter Cox throw his fire-ball into the open apartment — and subsequently, overtook three mobsters who were dragging an Oriental to his doom at Goller's wagon shop and prevailed upon them to let the Chinese go. There is a slight hint in the records to the effect that one of these mobsters was Constable Kerren, who, upon realizing that he had been recognized by attorney Hazard, was probably only too glad to set his Oriental victim free.

Immediately after having caused the Chinese to be released by his tormentors, Hazard went to where the crowd was hanging Orientals from the prairie schooners on Commercial Street, and mounting one of the wagons, began to harangue the mob, urging the hoodlums, in the "name of Christianity," to stop murdering the hapless Chinese. While Hazard was standing on the wagon, some one in the crowd fired a pistol at him but missed. At this time some of Hazard's more discreet friends hauled him down from his perch and took him away before he got killed.

A man named J. M. Baldwin, upon encountering a group of mobsters hanging Chinese from the corral gate at Temple and New High streets, took it upon himself to attempt to persuade the crowd not to commit any more murders. Like Henry Hazard, Mr. Baldwin was unarmed, while the crowd hanging the Chinese was guarded from any interference by a teamster with a rifle. Mr. Baldwin began to make a speech to the mob in Spanish, as this particular portion of the general mob was composed mostly of Hispanic-Americans — whereupon a merchant named John Hicks began to interpret Baldwin's speech into English for the benefit of the English-speaking members of the mob, using ironical terms, and causing merriment among the mobsters.

The crowd went on hanging Orientals while their comic interpreter displayed his prowess — but later on merchant Hicks de-

nied that he could understand Spanish at all, let alone speak it saying that all the Spanish he knew were the few words necessary to wait upon any Spanish-speaking customer who might come into his store.

Meanwhile, as a great many persons in Los Angeles employed Chinese in their homes, every one who had a Chinese cook or servant hid his Oriental from the fury of the mob. The census of 1870, a year before the massacre, reveals that attorneys Chapman and Glassel each had two Chinese employed at their homes, and that doctors John Griffin, J. P. Widney (brother of Robert Widney), and Clement Rheims each had a Chinese cook. Also, ex mayor Manuel Requena an ex governor John G. Downey had Oriental cooks — and even Frank Carpenter, the jail-keeper, had a Heathen Chinese working in his kitchen.

All of these Chinamen had to be concealed from the mob, and in fact, Judge W. H. Gray is reputed to have hidden a score of Orientals in the basement of his house, and it was subsequently reported that Judge Trafford had hidden Sam Yuen himself, in, of all places, his courtroom.

But all of the Chinese males whom the crowd had managed to ferret out in the Coronel Block in Negro Alley were hanged, including a fourteen year old boy and doctor Chien Lee Tong. In speaking of this massacre, Major Horace Bell, author of "Reminiscences of a Ranger" and "On the Old West Coast," two works about old Los Angeles which are of such a revealing nature as to make Major Bell the Boris Pasternak of Los Angeles historians, paraphrased the Prophet Hosea and said that the Angel City had "sown the wind and reaped the whirlwind." By eleven o'clock of the evening of October 24, 1871, the grim harvest lay in the jail yard at Franklin and Spring streets, where the cadavers of seventeen Chinese lay in a neat row upon the dirt. The eighteenth victim, Wong Tuck, who had been hanged first as early as six p. m., had been dragged to the cemetery back of the old fort on Moore Hill.

(To be continued)

Las Familias de California

(The Families of California)

Conducted by Mrs. Joseph M. Northrop

Genealogical Queries and Answers

6. William Edward Petty Hartnell came to California in 1822 and married Maria Teresa de la Guerra. I have heard they were the parents of eighteen to twenty-two children. What was the actual number and what were their names? — Mrs. D. A. Loomis, Los Angeles.

Answer: Data from the Hartnell family file at the Huntington Library, San Marino, gives the following information:

Guillermo (William) Eduardo Petty Hartnell, son of George Hartnell and Ann Petty, was born at Backbarrow, Lancashire, England on April 24, 1798, and on April 30, 1825, in Santa Barbara, was married to Maria Teresa de la Guerra, the daughter of Jose Antonio de la Guerra and Maria Antonia Carrillo, who was born at San Diego on May 18, 1809. Guillermo Eduardo died on February 2, 1854.

BIRTHS AND DEATHS OF THEIR CHILDREN

Guillermo Antonio, March 31, 1826 — 3 P. M.

Nataael Mariano, September 8, 1827 — 4 A. M. Died December 4, 1833.

Jorge Albano Manuel, June 16, 1829 — 7 A. M. Died August 9, 1829

Juan Eadberto, May 6, 1830 — 7 A. M.

Adelberto Pedro, June 25, 1831 — 8 P. M.

Maria Teresa Gregoria, November 17, 1832.

Jose Gonzalo, April 15, 1834 — 3 P. M.

Maria Matilde, April 25, 1835 — 9 A. M.

Ubaldo Pablo, May 6, 1836 — 9 P. M. Died August 18, 1836.

Ana Prudenciana, May 19, 1837 — 9 P. M.

Maria Magdalena del Refugio, July 22, 1838 — 8 P. M.

Nataael Finiano, September 10, 1840 — 10 P. M. Died November 20, 1847.

Pablo Eduardo, February 8, 1842 — 3 P. M.

Vidarico, February 20, 1843 — 12 A. M.

Francisco Gumesindo, January 13, 1845 — 6 A. M. Died November 17, 1845.

Silvestre Albano, December 31, 1845 — 10 A. M.

Margarita Amelia, February 22, 1847.

Arnulfo Benjamin, July 18, 1849 — 11 A. M. Died May 17, 1852.

Marriages

Guillermo Antonia married Maria del Refugio Moreno, the daughter of Santiago Moreno and Francisco Castro, on November 16, 1850.

Maria Teresa married Miguel Smith, the son of Jose (or Joseph) Smith and Loreto Miller, on June 6, 1851.

Juan Eadberto married Maria de Las Angustias Jimeno, daughter of Manuel Jimeno and Angustias de la Guerra in Santa Barbara, on May 21, 1857.

Matilde married Juan Jackson on February 25, 1859.

Anita married Pedro Zabala on April 24, 1850, in Monterey.

Jose married Maria Ignacia Watson on August 1, 1861, in San Benito, Monterey County.

Pablo married Juliana de la Torre on January 7, 1866, at the Rancho San Miguel, Monterey.

7. I am seeking the parents of Hiram Wells who was born about 1807-9 and married Wealthy (Weltha) Harding. I find no record of his death in Orange County where he was reported to have died on January 24, 1885, which also happened to be his 50th wedding anniversary. — Mrs. I. Wells, Los Angeles.

Genealogical Notes

Padron (census) of Santa Barbara, 1790

Copied from the Eldridge Translation in the Bancroft Library and Edited by
MRS. JOSEPH M. NORTHROP

1. FELIPE DE GOYCOECHEA. Lieutenant Commander of the Presidio, native of Cosala, Sonora, 43, single. He has a servant, Valentin Planeyes, native of Cataluna.

2. PABLO COTA, Ensign, of Loreto, 46; married to ROSA MARIA DE LUGO, 27; children: Manuel, 12; Polonia, 10; Maria Isabel, 8; Maria Manuela, 6; Francisco Atanasio, 4; Bartolome, 1.

3. JOSE IGNACIO OLIVERA, sergeant, of San Jose de Cabo, 40, widower; children: Lucas Antonio, 10; Ana Maria Leonor, 6; Diego Antonio Maria, 4; Maria Estefana, 2.

4. JOSE RAIMUNDO CARILLO, sergeant, of Loreto, 41; married to TOMASA DE LUGO, 23; children: Carlos Antonio, 7; Maria Antonia, 4½; Anastacio, 2.

5. JOSE MARIA ORTEGA, sergeant, of Loreto, 30; married to FRANCISCA LOPEZ, 27; children: Martin, 9; Maria Antonia, 7; Jose Vincente, 5; Jose Antonio, 1.

6. IGNACIO (NARCISO) OLIVERA, corporal, native of San Antonio, Lower California, 32; married to MARCELA FELIS, 19 (daughter of Vicente); children: Antonio Maria, 5; Tomas Antonio, 2.

7. LUIS PENA, soldier, San Jose del Cabo, 40; married to PAULA CORTES, 16; children: Maria Nicolasa, 2; Maria Ignacia, 4 months.

8. JOSE ANTONIO VELARDE, native of Rio del Piosta, 44; married JULIANA QUIJADA, 46; children: orphans Maria Rosa, 10 and Jose Luciano, 4.

9. RAFAEL GERARDO GONZALEZ, native of Sinaloa, 44; married to TOMASA QUINTERO, 18.

10. ISIDRO GERMAN, native of Sinaloa, 36; married to MANUELA DE OCHOA,

Las Familias de California

30; children: Francisco, 9; Maria Antonia, 7; Maria Gertrudia, 5; Maria Dionicia, 3; Cristobal Antonio, 2 months.

11. ROSALINO FERNANDEZ, native of Fuerte, 32; married to JUANA QUINTERO, 27; children: Maria Luciana, 9; Maria Isabel, 7; Antonio, 5; Maria Josefa, 4; Maria Felipe, 2; Maria Marcela, 6 months.

12. FELIPE GONZALEZ, native of Nayarit, 45; married to FELIPA DE LA CRUZ, 45.

13. FRUTUOSO RUIZ, of Fuerte, 29; married to MARIA ISABEL ACOSTA, 23; child: Juan Pedro, 8.

14. JUAN MELCHOR LOPEZ, native of San Martin, 30; married to MARIA MARTINEZ, 36.

15. EUGENIO VALDEZ, of Fuerte, 36; married to SEBASTIANA QUINTERO, 25; children: Cresencio, 8; Antonia Maria, 6; Bacilio, 4; Serfina, 2.

16. TOMAS ESPINOSA, Sinaloa, 25; married to MARIA ROSALIA, 17.

17. LUIS LUGO, Loreto, 40; married to MARIA ANTONIA CAMPOS, 32; children: Jose Julian, 11; Maria Faustina, 10; Maria Petra, 3½; Mariana Rufina, 1½; Justa Gertrudis, 1½ - both.

18. ANTONIO VASQUEZ, Sinaloa, 26; married to ISABEL CORTEZ, 15.

19. JUAN MARIA ROMERO, 38; married to LUGARDA SALGADO, 29; children: Maria Josefa, 13; Jose Antonio, 11; Maria Gertrudis, 9; Maria Rafaela, 7; Maria Josefa, 5; Jose Domingo, 2.

20. ANASTACIO MARIA FELIZ, Los Alamos, 43; married to GERTRUDIS VALENZUELA, 22; children: Juan Jose, 8; Ana Geronima, 4; Maria Antonia, 2.

21. MANUEL IGNACIO LUGO, Sinaloa, 26; married to Gertrudis Sanchez, 40; children: Jose Miguel, 11; Maria Dolores, 8; Ana Maria, 5.

22. JOSE MANUEL ORCHAGA, Sinaloa 34; married to MARIA VALENZUELA, 26; children: Jose Manuel, 9; Jose Hilario, 7; Maria Candelaria, 5; Jose Antonio, 3; Jose Bacileo, 2 months.

23. FRANCISCO PAULA GARCIA, Villa de Puerto, 30; married to MARIA LUISA ORTEGA, 22; children: Maria de Jesus, 6; Maria del Rosario, 2; Maria de la Concepción, 9 months.

24. LUIS ROMERO, Loreto, 32; married to MARIA GOMEZ, 30.

25. JOSE MARIA ENCARNACIÓN, native of Palo, 20; married to MARIA MICAELA LANDEROS, 39; children: Manuel, 11; Jose Ignacio, 9.

26. GABRIEL ESPINOSA, Sinaloa, 26; married to JOSEFA OSUNA, 15.

27. JOSE MIGUEL FLORES, Quchipila, 27; married to MARIA CONCEPCIÓN QUINTERO, 20; children, Ana Gertrudes, 5½; Teodocio, 3½; Petra, 10 months.

28. MARIANO COTA, native of Loreto, (25); married to MARIA IGNACIA BELARDE, 17; child: Maria Clara, 12 days.

29. MANUEL VALENZUELA, Sinaloa, 34; married to MARIA CONCEPCIÓN DE ARMENTA, 29; children: Jose Ignacio, 9; Maria Rosalia, 7; Gaspar Jose, 4.

30. TOMAS GONZALEZ, of Rosario, 26; married to PERCEVANCIA CORTEZ, 15.

31. VICENTE QUISADA, Los Alamos, 36; married to MARIA JOSEFA VILLAVICENCIO, 19.

32. JAVIER ALVARADO, Loreto, 34; married to MARIA IGNACIA AMADOR, 23; children, Ana Joaquina, 4½; Juan Bautista, 3 months.

33. IGNACIO RODRIGUEZ, Los Alamos, 31; married to JUANA PARRA, 25; children: Jose Maria, 7; Maria Gertrudes, 5; Maria Josefa, 4; Jose Francisco, 1½; Jose de Jesus, 4 months.

34. JOSE AYALA, native of Real de Cosala, 27; married to JUANA FELIX, 17; children: Maria del Carmen, 2½; Jose Antonia, 7 months.

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35. JUAN IGNACIO VALENCIO, Fronteras, 56; married to MARIA RITA SAMORA, 39; children: Maria Francisca, 11; Maria Ignacia, 7; Juan Vincente, 4; Miguel Antonio, 1½; and his two stepsons: Jose de la Cruz, 17 (not the governor) and Juan Hilario, 14.
36. PEDRO VALENZUELA, Sinaloa, 36; married to MARIA DOLORES PARRA, 29; children: Jose Maria, 8; Jose Antonio, 4; Antonia Maria, 6 months.
37. JOSE TADEO SANCHEZ, Sinaloa, 35; married to MARIA PETRA MONTIEL, 26; children: Maria Antonia, 8; Vincente Anestacio, 5; Juana Maria, 3½; Petra Leonor, 1.
38. HILARIO CARLON, Loreto, 23; married to JUANA MARIA DE JESUS, 14.
39. JOSE PLANCO, Cocula, 40; married to MARIA LEONOR, 38.
40. JOSE MARIA DOMINGUEZ, Sinaloa, 27; married to MARCELINA FELIZ, 19; child: Emecio, 2.
41. JUAN MATIAS DE OLIVAS, Rosario, 31; widower; children: Maria Nicolasa, 11½; Juan Pablo, 9½; Cosme, 6; Maria de los Santos, 2.
42. FRANCISCO CALBO, Cozala, 36, widower.
43. JOSE MARIA AGUILAR Y FRAGOZO, native of Agua Catlan, 28, widower.
44. FRANCISCO MARIA RUIZ, corporal, Loreto, 37, single.
45. JUAN LEYBA, Cozala, 20, single.
46. ANTONIO BARRERA, Los Alamos, 20, single.
47. MIGUEL PICO, San Javier de Cabaza, 20, single.
48. JOSE MANUEL FEYJEO, Puebla, 21, single.
49. JOSE LADRON DE GUEBARA, native of Queterro, 28, single.
50. BERNARDO RAMIREZ, native of Tepic, 26, single.
51. JOSE MARIA FLORES, native of Valladolid, 24, single.
52. TOMAS COSEMIRO ORIBE, native of Tepic, 27, single.
53. JUAN FRANCISCO GOLORZANO, of Cuesillo, 25, single.
54. JUAN MAXIMO PENA, native of Cuesillo, 30, single.
55. DOLORES PICO, San Javier, 26, single.
56. JOSE IGNACIO HICUERA, native of Loreto, 25, single.
57. JOSE CRISTOBAL PALOMARES, Real San Jose de Canelos, 20, single.
58. SALVADOR GONZALES DE SAYOS, 24, single.
59. LAUREANO JOSE MONTALBAN, Granada, 31, single.
60. NICOLAS FELIPE CORTES, Culiacan, 23, single.
61. HILARIO JIMENEZ, native of Tepic, 26 (married to Juana Maria, 19).
62. AGUSTIN LEYBA, laborer, Loreto, 50; married to GUADALUPE BELARDE, 43; children: Anastacio, 16; Jose Miguel, 14; Rufino, 11; Maria Anastacia, 7 - orphan.
63. LUIS QUINTERO, tailor, Guadalajara, 65; married to PETRA RUBIO, 48; child: Jose Clemente, 13.
64. JOAQUIN RODRIGUEZ, laborer, native of Los Alamos, 30; married to CATARINA QUINTERO, 25; child: Alejandro, 5.
65. FRANCISCO LUGO, laborer, Sinaloa, 50, widower of JUAN VILLANANEL, (d. Mar. 21, 1790, Santa Barbara); children: Jose Antonio, 17; Jose Ignacio, 16; Antonio Maria, 13; Juan Maria, 10; Maria Antonia, 14 (married Vallejo); Maria Ignacia, 7.
66. MARIANO CORDERO, tailor, Loreto, 40; married to JUANA PINTO, 24; children: Jose Estanislao, 9; Pedro Regalado, 4.
67. CANDALARIA REDONDO, native of Sinaloa, 43, widow; children: Rafael Sepulveda, 18; Manuel, 16; Francisco, 13; Sebastian, 11; Maria Antonia, 9.
68. JOSE MARIA SAMANICO, Mayordomo; married to JUAN MARIA SOTO, (sotomayor); children: Tomas; Juana; Enrico; Gertrudas, 4; Tiburcio, 2.

Book Reviews

MAN, TIME, AND SPACE IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

An Appraisal and Summary

By Glenn Cunningham

MAN, TIME, AND SPACE IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA — *A Symposium*, Edited by William L. Thomas, Jr., published as a Supplement to the ANNALS OF THE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN GEOGRAPHERS, Vol. 49, No. 3, September 1959. (Association of American Geographers, Washington, D. C., 1959). Pp. 120, illus. — photos, maps; Bibliography; paper, \$1.50.

This special supplement to the ANNALS of the Association of American Geographers is the record of a plenary session on Southern California held at the 54th meeting of the Association in Santa Monica in August, 1958. Although designed to introduce the region to visiting delegates, the material can well introduce much that is new to residents, for seldom has the development of this area been so thoroughly yet so compactly summarized.

Southern California, one of the smallest, yet most intensively developed geographic regions of the United States, provides a striking example of the transfiguration of the land under human impact. The papers, contributed by five authors and five commentators, discuss the modifications of the local landscape — the cumulative effects of man's actions — during the period of human occupancy.

The authors are geographers writing for geographers, but their approach is often historical, and the overall organization is chronological from the pre-historic era to "The Future of California's Southland." The following summaries of the principal papers are abstracts only and cannot do justice to the scholarly treatment of the topics nor their well illustrated and carefully documented presentation. Few areas have been so systematically analyzed in the light of man's role in changing the face of the earth.

MAN, TIME, AND CHANGE IN THE FAR SOUTHWEST, By George F. Carter, The John Hopkins University

It has long been held that man appeared in the Southwest after the last glacial period, i. e., not more than 10,000 or 15,000 years ago. There is evidence,

according to Carter, that man entered the area very much earlier, perhaps 70,000 or more years ago, during the inter-glacial period preceding the last, or Wisconsin, ice-age. Traces of early man are found in the artifacts present along former beach levels of the Southern California coast and islands, some of them buried under recent alluvial deposits, others submerged by the present level of the sea.

This implies man's existence here during the vast physical changes that occurred — the fall and rise of sea level by 300 feet, the shifting of the earth's climates, and the attendant changes in soils, vegetation and animal life. But in spite of challenging change in the environment and contact with more advanced neighboring cultures, the area remained one of cultural lag, the simple seed-gathering and fishing economy persisting to historic times.

The antiquity of man in North America is still a controversial subject, and Dr. Carter's commentator, the only one of the five to challenge a speaker, questioned his evidence, methods and conclusions, declaring them "totally unconvincing." This inspired a "reply to comments" and "further comments" still without resolving the issue.

THE EVOLUTION OF A WILD LANDSCAPE, AND ITS PERSISTENCE IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA, By Homer Aschmann, University of California, Riverside

For the past 10,000 years local climates have remained unchanged, and the natural vegetation (except for some introduced plants) has been the same as that now observed in uncultivated areas. This comprises thirteen distinct plant communities from the coastal strand to the al-

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kali sinks of interior deserts, varying with altitude, moisture, drainage, slope, soils and distance from the sea.

The Indians utilized these vegetation zones in differing degrees of intensity depending on supplies of water and of food resources, principally acorns, grass seeds, pine nuts, game, and along the coasts, fish and shellfish. Population density distribution was similar to that of the present day, greatest in the coastal and alluvial valleys and the Colorado River valley, and least dense in the mountains and deserts.

Southern California not only had the densest Indian population in the country, but with a total of 75,000 had 7.5 per cent of the United States total, a larger percentage that it can claim today. But in spite of numbers, the Indians, non-agricultural, altered the landscape little except by repeated burning. Modern man, with two centuries of cultivation and construction, has altered much of it beyond recognition. Perhaps 70 per cent of the original natural landscape remains unchanged, most of it in the desert.

TRANSFORMATION OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA TO A CULTIVATED LAND, *By* H. F. Raup, Kent State University

The Southern California economy lacked agriculture until the Franciscan missionaries introduced the orange, olive, grape, fig, wheat, and certain garden vegetables largely grown under irrigation with the aid of crude dams and conduits. For the first century irrigated acreage remained small and produced only for the local population, but vast areas were employed by the Mexican inhabitants in the profitable raising of cattle until the early 1860's.

The transformation from a grazing economy to one of irrigated agriculture came about slowly with the influx of other settlers. Among the early cropland areas were the vineyard colonies of Anaheim and Riverside. Expansion was stimulated by the entry of the railroads in 1876 which brought new settlers creating a local market, and which enabled the rapid distant marketing of semi-perishable products. Subsequent technical improvements in transportation, irrigation engineering, and food preservation, and the introduction of new crops, furthered the transition to intensive farming and the establishment of Southern California's eminent position in American agriculture.

Although expanding urban areas are reducing citrus acreage, and industry now dominates as the leading economy, Dr. Raup feels that agriculture is still

strongly entrenched in Southern California with 7,000,000 acres used for crop growing or grazing.

THE SPREAD OF AN ARTIFICIAL LANDSCAPE OVER SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA, *By* Howard J. Nelson, University of California, Los Angeles

Today an artificial landscape has spread over Southern California, an area which perhaps better than any other, epitomizes the dominance of the city. This, however, is new, a product of recent decades, for in earlier periods this area, lacking coal and metals, isolated on the far side of the continent, and without a suitable harbor, had little attraction for urban-industrial activities. Spanish and Mexican sovereignty with their system of land holdings likewise discouraged urban development.

Incorporation in the United States changed the legal systems, brought railroads and settlers, and introduced the era of real estates booms. Railroad competition produced the grandest of these, the "Boom of the Eighties," when more than 100 towns with 500,000 lots were platted in Los Angeles County. Forty of these remained as nuclei for modern growth. Population increased tenfold between 1870 and 1890, but the area remained dependent on agriculture until World War I.

Changing technology has since revealed many assets for urban and industrial development which have overshadowed agriculture. Discovery and exploitation of petroleum, growth of the climate-attracted motion picture and aircraft industries, and the post-World War II population flood (a migration ranking with the largest in U.S. history) with its accompanying market-oriented industries such as rubber, automobile assembly and steel, have contributed to the current position of Los Angeles as third largest manufacturing center in the United States.

The sprawling urbanized area, second most extensive in the nation, is characterized by the single-family residence, and has the lowest population density of any large United States city. This is attributed partly to the newness of the city and its construction almost entirely during the era of the automobile. Los Angeles, with no mass transit system, but with 2,750,000 automobiles, is more dependent on the auto than any other large metropolis. As a result, commercial districts are widespread and decentralized, even manufacturing is widespread, and the "downtown" is less prominent than in the average city.

Book Reviews

THE FUTURE OF CALIFORNIA'S SOUTHLAND,
By Edward T. Price, Los Angeles
State College

A plethora of local boards, commissions, and consulting firms are busy planning the booming future that they predict for California. In evaluating their forecasts Dr. Price looks at the current trends and the possible limits imposed by resources.

Before World War II Southern California had a balance of local resources. In the future much will have been exhausted (oil and gas), rendered insignificant by growing demand (local water supplies), or ignored (soils and climates formerly valued for agriculture — another million acres of farmland is expected to be converted to urban use). The attractions that remain are consumer attractions — scenery, climatic comfort, and the increasingly scarce room for homesites.

The rate of population increase is greater than ever before, but the relative increase (percentage) is as low as it has been since 1870 and is leveling off at ten per cent of total United States growth. Still, most forecasters assume that the increase will continue until the coastal low-

lands from Santa Barbara to San Diego are filled with low-density settlement, becoming one continuum of city residence and business blocks. By the year 2000 the planners expect 20,000,000 people in the coastal areas, 2,000,000 in the adjoining deserts.

California's continued growth depends on accretion of productive businesses no longer limited to those that serve local markets or exploit local resources, but many such have been attracted and their continued immigration can be expected. Nor will water be a limitation on growth. Unutilized supplies of the Colorado and the rivers of northern California will be adequate although increasingly expensive.

Price expects rather that urban congestion with its difficulty of movement, disappearance of open space, and smog (he sees no immediate remedy for any of these), will fail to attract population, and the inflow will slow down even before the coastal lowlands have filled with single-family dwellings. Urbanization, although still increasing Southern California's attraction for producers, must reduce her attraction for consumers.

The Historical Society of Southern California TOPICAL INDEX of All Published Works, 1884-1957, by Anna Marie Hager and Everett Gordon Hager. With a Foreword by Gustave O. Arlt and a Preface by W. W. Robinson. (The Historical Society of Southern California, 1960.) Pp. xx; 304; 6½"x10"; cloth; three-color jacket. Price, \$15.00.

This compilation by Mr. and Mrs. Hager will prove to be as useful a tool to research and study of California history as is the *Historical Society of Southern California* QUARTERLY itself. Published as *Special Book Publication No. 5* in the recently revitalized book publication program of the Society it is an example of what can be done by the historical society to give maximum current usefulness to its past publications. A brief Foreword by Society President Gustave O. Arlt and an equally brief Preface by W. W. Robinson succinctly indicate the potential value of this work. The present compilation serves as a guide not only to the QUARTERLY which has been published since 1935 but also to the ANNUAL PUBLICATIONS of the Society which began in 1884 and concluded in 1934. Terminal point for the TOPICAL INDEX is 1957.

The number of entries in this index is approximately 25,000, while some topics have as many as fifty references to past publications. The project represents over a year of diligent labor by its authors in preparation. Index entries include authors, titles of articles, personal names,

place names, subject entries, institutions, illustrations, book reviews, charts, maps, pictures, etc. As a result the book provides a quick method of reference to past publications.

There are certain almost insuperable problems in creation of a "topical index." Over a period of years a number of different editors have been in charge of the Society's publications. Some have been more competent than others, and as a result of these individual differences, there have appeared a number of variations in spelling and particularly in accentuation of foreign words within the QUARTERLY and ANNUAL PUBLICATIONS. The dilemma of the compiler is whether to preserve these earlier inconsistencies, or to create new ones in correcting the errors of the past. On the whole the Hagers have used good judgement in this regard.

The usefulness of a topical index is obvious. To the researcher it provides access to the material available in the *Historical Society of Southern California* publications on the various topics that make up the nucleus and the periphery of his subject. To the director of research,

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usually the professor, it permits him to ascertain whether the work of his people is worthwhile, or whether the topic seems to be already over-exploited. To the librarian it provides easy availability to the potential answer to the thousands of questions asked by an inquiring public. To the owner of the *Historical Society of Southern California* publications it breathes new vitality into the collection of old *ANNUALS* and *QUARTERLIES* and should bring them from the bottom shelf to the shelf of frequent usage. To every person interested in the history of California's past this volume should be of value.

Though this reviewer had access to the Hagers' work while it was still in galley proof, it is already possible to attest to its practical value. Even before publica-

tion a group of his graduate students has put it to the test, with satisfactory results. Many hours of routine library checking were avoided and the time saved was expended in more basic research on individual topics.

It is hoped that similar tools of research value will be produced by the Society, for in doing this it elevates the group from the level of history "fans" to that of real contributors to the future writing and reporting of history. This *TOPICAL INDEX*, combined with the earlier *BIBLIOGRAPHY of All Published Works*, also by the Hagers, is a meritorious accomplishment, and should encourage the Society to continue publication in the historiographical field. — *Donald C. Cutter*

THE CALIFORNIA OUTLAW: TIBURCIO VASQUEZ, *Compiled* by Robert Greenwood, combined under one cover with a complete reprint of **VASQUEZ: OR, THE HUNTED BANDITS OF THE SAN JOAQUIN**, *A Contemporary Account of the Bandit and His Capture*, by George Beers. (The Talisman Press, Los Gatos, California, 1960.) Pp. 296: (Greenwood compilation, including *References and Bibliography*, 60 pp. Reprint Section, 236 pp.); photos; end paper maps; diagrams; 6"x9"; cloth, three-color illustrated jacket. Price, \$5.95.

One of California's greatest legends is based on the life and times of Tiburcio Vasquez, a native of Monterey where he was born on August 11, 1835. Before Tiburcio had arrived at his majority he had committed his first capital crime by wantonly killing a traveler from a well-prepared ambush. Robbery and theft was his only motive. It is not surprising that he did this due to the fact that his whole life from boyhood on was directed towards a career in crime.

In fact, Tiburcio himself, sought schooling in ambush and murder from one Anastacia Garcia who had perfected his mastery of murder and human mutilation under the tutelage of Joaquin Murietta. Murietta, Vasquez' idolized example and predecessor in California criminal history, comes in for an enlightening study by Author Greenwood in this compilation of the true facts about Tiburcio.

Vasquez, according to the legendary and fictional accounts, rode boldly and bravely across the deserts and valleys and through and over the mountains of Central and Southern California for some twenty years before he was finally brought to justice at the end a hangman's noose in San Jose on March 19, 1875. But, according to the painstaking compilation of the known facts uncovered by Author Greenwood, the above is anything but true. Vasquez was a wanton killer, kidnapper, and treacherous man

who traveled by night and spent his days hiding in hovels in far-out-of-the-way places. He served two terms in San Quentin Prison during his twenty-odd years of criminal activities and was eventually hanged for leading the band of outlaws who committed the murderous outrage at Tres Pinos. Such is the story uncovered by Greenwood in his sixty pages of the book.

The contemporary account of Vasquez' life and times which is reprinted was authored by George Beers, a San Francisco newspaper correspondent who was assigned to the posse which eventually wounded and captured the notorious outlaw at the ranch of Greek George, near Los Angeles. In fact, it was Beers who actually fired the shot that brought the desperado to bay. His account, written for an audience which had been built up by exciting contemporary newspaper accounts of the great manhunt over a long period of time, is not altogether factual, as Greenwood points out. But known details of the bandit's life are interestingly woven into an account that is tied together with fictitious interludes which build the bad man up as a great lover. This book, which would have been greatly enhanced by a good index of both its parts, is interesting reading and will serve in the future to place Vasquez properly in California history for the wanton killer that he was. — *Lorin L. Morrison.*

Book Reviews

GOLD vs. GRAIN — *The Hydraulic Mining Controversy in California's Sacramento Valley*, by Robert L. Kelley. (Glendale, California: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1959.) Illustrations, bibliography, map, index. Pp. 327, Cloth. Price, \$9.50.

Those readers who follow the present-day water problems of California should find this volume of particular interest. Dr. Kelley, assistant professor of history at the University of California at Santa Barbara, has carried to considerable depth his study of the drainage and water runoff situation in the Sacramento Valley in the period 1850-1890. The story uncovers some parallels between the present and this struggle over water matters eighty years ago.

The book also is of special interest as economic history. Subtitled "A Chapter in the Decline of the Concept of *Laissez Faire*," it details one of the first successful attempts in modern American History to use the concept of the general welfare to limit free capitalism. It must be read against the background of that period of virtually unrestrained freedom of enterprise when entrepreneurs were allowed to exploit natural resources without much regard for the effect on their neighbors.

The problem dealt with by Dr. Kelley arose when miners along the Yuba, Bear, America, Feather and Sacramento Rivers turned to hydraulic methods to wash out prodigious amounts of waste to uncover their ore. The farmers, and others in the valleys, strenuously objected to the wholesale dumping of this debris into all of the streams of the area. The results

were the covering of large areas of fertile farmland, the choking of the river system with mud, sand and gravel, the ruining of irrigation, stock watering and town water systems, the hindering of navigation, and the bringing on of seasonal floods in the lowlands.

The author describes the rise of the hydraulic mining activity, the swelling protests by the farmers, the various political battles which ensued, the passage of the drainage act of 1880, the fight over its repeal and, finally, the second agrarian offensive resulting in total victory for the farmers and ultimate control of the problem in the 1890s. A concluding chapter deals with aftermath and reconstruction brought down to 1956, although the great conflict of the 1870s and 1880s is given the greatest attention.

The account, although somewhat repetitious, is quite readable and in good style, yet it meets the standards of scholarly approach. The author has researched his problem at many prime sources, including the county archives and the files of many local newspapers throughout the Sacramento Valley. A bibliography, a good map, a thorough index and the ten illustrations add to the usefulness of the volume. For this limited edition the Arthur H. Clark Company of Glendale has produced a sturdy volume well printed in large type on handsome stock. — *Robert W. King.*

THE HEALTH SEEKERS OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA, 1870-1900, by John E. Baur. (The Huntington Library, San Marino, 1959.) Pp. xviii; 202; 6"x9," *Bibliography; Index.* Three color jacket; cloth. Price, \$4.50.

To many people in the latter part of the Nineteenth Century, particularly those afflicted with the more chronic pulmonary diseases, the words "Southern California" and "health" were almost synonymous. The phenomenon of people migrating to Southern California for health reasons has been recognized since the early days of Spanish and Mexican colonization, but between the years 1870 and 1900 several factors combined to make the health migration of these sickly migrants an almost overwhelming tide.

Chief among these factors, of course, was climate. But climate alone would not have been enough to produce this migration; it took a combination of the above with some of the following factors. The paucity of medical knowledge about the therapy of some diseases led many sufferers as well as physicians to turn to a regimen of outdoor living in a mild,

dry climate as a means of conquering the disease with which they were afflicted.

The beneficial effects of this type of regimen upon the body physiology have been recognized for many centuries and the health resorts of the Mediterranean area were long a mecca towards which the wealthy and unhealthy of Europe made pilgrimages.

Before this could occur in California, the next factor, advertising, had to occur. Southern California's name as a health resort had to be widely disseminated and firmly implanted in people's minds before they would undertake an arduous journey to a region which was relatively unsettled. This job was accomplished by a very vigorous group of boosters who in both written and spoken word made extravagant claims about the beneficial effects of Southern California's climate upon health and firmly established the

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health legend of Southern California.

The above are the major reasons why during the last three decades of the Nineteenth Century, a migratory movement of health seekers to California is clearly discernible and constitutes one of the migratory trends with which, as Author Baur puts it, "California's story, from Cabrillo to the space age, can be told by tracing."

This migration of health seekers has been largely overlooked by historians and this documentary account of the migration is perhaps the first to explore the subject with any degree of thoroughness. He has done a remarkable job of extracting the story of the migration from the original literature and gives a good circumstantial account of this era of California's growth. He traces the historical beginnings of the mass movement and enumerates the permanent and widespread changes wrought in Southern California by the migration of these often middle-aged and sedentary sick men and women. It is surprising to learn the degree to which this health migration did affect the culture and social structure of Southern California and "helped to provide the semi-isolated region with its first predominance in Anglo-Saxon Americans, provided a solid basis of family life and social stability and offered the outpost area its initial experience in large scale advertising."

The author discusses the founding of such towns as Pasadena, Sierra Madre, Altadena, Palm Springs, Riverside, and Ojai Valley communities by the health seekers and the changes these people made on towns already existing, such as

Santa Barbara and Los Angeles. He describes many of the more illustrious individuals who came here in that period of time as health seekers and the many contributions they made to the growing Southern California.

One of the major long term effects of this migration of sickly and often indigent health seekers was upon governmental policy concerning public health and care of the sick. The establishment of state and county institutions to handle the indigent sick and the setting up of tuberculosis sanitariums in many cases was a direct result of the great numbers of chronically ill individuals who settled in California and then were financially unable to support themselves and get adequate medical attention.

Baur describes many of the faith and health cults that were inevitable in this type of environment and the medical quacks (also inevitable) who found fertile soil for their chicanery (and still do) in the hopeful health seekers.

The book is filled with many direct quotations and specific references to the literature of the day and the *Bibliography* is perhaps the most complete ever compiled on the subject. The book is not light reading due to the presence of an enormous amount of statistics along with the many quotations and references.

The intensive documentation of the story of the health migration contained in the book makes this an invaluable reference book for anyone interested in this subject, and will become welcome addition to the library of any serious student of California history.—Robert W. Adams

THE TRUE STORY OF BILLY THE KID, *A Tale of the Lincoln County War*, by William Lee Hamlin. (The Caxton Printers, Ltd., Caldwell, Idaho, 1959.) Pp. xx; 380; 5½x8¼"; photos, illus.; diagrams; full-color illustrated jacket; cloth. Price, \$6.00.

This is a new and detailed study of probably the most notorious killer the West has ever produced. William H. Bonney . . . Billy, the Kid . . . was reputed to have killed twenty-one men before he died at the age of 21. Most of the victims of Billy's marksmanship fell as his opponents in the "Lincoln County War," a bitter feud between the opposing factions of merchants and cattle barons in Southern New Mexico.

A one-time employer and a later-day enemy of Billy was John Chisholm, the great name of cattle drives between New Mexico and West Texas to railheads in Kansas. The author takes no little delight in exposing Chisholm as a cattle rustler in Texas and a defender of his

stolen herds against New Mexican rustlers. And the author likewise explodes the fiction that Territorial Governor General Lew Wallace and Bonney were daytime enemies and after-dark buddies.

Author Hamlin has done a creditable job in bringing out the true facts in the life of this romanticized character who has been exploited out of all true proportions. Billy, the Kid, molded himself into a desperate killer. He sometimes killed outlaws as a member of a sheriff's posse; and he sometimes killed posse members who were hunting him down.

As a *Appendix* to this well-authored book there is an account of factual data about Sheriff Pat Garrett, the man who killed Billy, the Kid. There is also an

Book Reviews

"honor roll" of those men killed in the "Lincoln County War." Some, but not all of Billy's twenty-one victims are listed.

If it was true that he did kill a total of twenty-one men, then he killed others

than those who fell in the "war." In any event this is an exciting true account of a Western desperado who kept his gun barrel hot during his brief but much too long a life. — *Lorrin L. Morrison*

WILLIE BOY, A Desert Manhunt, by Harry Lawton. (Paisano Press, Balboa Island, California, 1960.) Pp. xvi; 226; end paper maps; illustrations; *Selected Bibliography*. Price, \$5.95.

HARRY LAWTON, in **WILLIE BOY**, has amply demonstrated his ability as both a journalist and author. After three years of research, during which time the author used material from newspaper accounts, interviews with surviving posse members and their descendants, Indian Bureau records, files of law enforcement agencies, and all court and municipal documents pertaining to the case, he has achieved a memorable explanation and story of a most interesting event in the history of Southern California. Rather than to give just the bare historical facts, the author has reconstructed the story in the form of an historical novel. In his reconstruction he has distorted no facts and wherever possible he has used dialogue made up from what posse members remember saying at the time or from quotations in contemporary newspaper sources. His aim was to capture the same tone of immediacy and vitality that had been felt by those who had heard the posse members relating the tale of Willie Boy in their own words. In this, the author has admirably succeeded. He has succeeded in creating such a feeling of interest and suspense that the reader is caught up in this story and hurried along to the final act of this great western drama.

The story of Willie Boy is the true story of a legend. It is the story of a famous manhunt in Southern California in the fall of 1909 during which a Paiute Indian eluded posse after posse in one of the greatest feats of human endurance that has ever been known. Willie Boy covered nearly five hundred miles of the hot, waterless Mojave Desert, on foot, leaving behind him exhausted horses and weary posse members. When Willie Boy killed Old Mike and kidnapped Lolita, he was only following the Paiute custom of getting himself a bride. Had the course of events followed the usual pattern, this indian killing would have been quickly forgotten. But, destiny stepped

in and made Willie Boy a notorious character and turned what would have been an unimportant event into almost a national crisis. Willie Boy and his pursuers held the headlines across the nation. Rumors of indian uprisings were rife. Even President William Howard Taft, who was visiting California at the time, was said to be in danger.

This then is the story of one of the last great manhunts in the tradition of the Old West. Its power lies not so much in the nature of the hunters but in the nature of the hunted, the Paiute Indian. Whatever one may think of Willie Boy, his feat commands respect.

Too often in writing about real people, authors tend to end up by having them sound like characters from fiction. However, in Willie Boy, Harry Lawton shows his journalistic ability by portraying his characters as they were in real life. We meet the honest Indian Agent who is obviously living ahead of her time. We also become acquainted with the desert man whose idea of a good indian is a dead one. Then we meet the politician who in his eagerness to gain political advantage from the incident almost loses his man and the next election. Finally, there is the hunted Paiute Indian who oddly enough ends up the hero of the story. Overshadowing all these, in the dim background, are the newspaper publishers who in their eagerness to sell newspapers were willing to sacrifice the truth and thereby helped establish the legend of Willie Boy.

The book is well illustrated with photographs taken by Randolph W. Madison of the *Los Angeles Record* who was with the final posse that found Willie Boy's body. The author has also included an excellent bibliography of primary and secondary sources.

If you like interesting and exciting fictionalized history, you will find it in **WILLIE BOY** by Harry Lawton. — *Raymond K. Morrison*

Gifts to the Society

In each issue of THE QUARTERLY there appears a list of the donors and gifts made currently to the Society.

The Society is making an especial effort to build up its collection of historic materials, such as diaries, letters, account books, early newspapers, theatre and other programs, pictures of early-day life in California and costumes. We need your help.

Many members having treasured ancestral keepsakes were impelled to give them to the Society because of the realization that in private possession they would, sooner or later, disappear or deteriorate, whereas, in the custody of the Historical Society of Southern California they will be preserved indefinitely.

MRS. MARCO R. NEWMARK, Curator

MRS. ALEXANDER MESMER MacKENZIE — Coffee urn for exclusive use at Society meetings.

MRS. BEATRICE SABICHI MITCHELL, co-chairman of the Society's Hostess Committee — Coffee urn and tray for exclusive use at Society meetings.

FRANK B. PUTNAM — Books, *Proceedings of the Second, Third and Fourth Annual Meetings of the Conference of California Historical Societies*; "San Diego, a Brief History, 1542 to 1888" published by the San Diego Trust & Savings Bank.

JUSTIN G. TURNER brochure "The Carvalho Portrait of Lincoln," a Lincoln Susquicentennial Commemoration; program of the Lincoln Susquicentennial Association of California commemorative Dinner at University of California, Los Angeles, February 8, 1960.

MRS. MARCO R. NEWMARK — Plate, souvenir 1909 calendar plate of Gerlemann's Grocery House; photographs, two of Gerlemann's 1902, H. Newmark & Co., and group of men not identified.

MISS EDNA R. FROST — Belmont, Massachusetts — photographs, three views of Santa Monica Beach, 1905. Forwarded by Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce.

MISS ANITA RHOADES — oil painting in large gilt frame of her mother, aunt and uncle as children. Artist was her grandfather, William Cogswell; framed picture, Sierra Madre Villa, birthplace of Miss Rhoades; three stereopticons of early Los Angeles; section of *Los Angeles Times*, San Gabriel Valley Section, February 16, 1953, story and pictures of famous Sierra Madre Villa; small gilt framed picture of William Cogswell, artist.

THE ESTATE OF HELEN TYLER — Society's ANNUAL and QUARTERLY back issues; 38 ANNUALS; 34 QUARTERLIES.

MISS CLEMENTINA DE FOREST GRIFFIN — Four Early issues of the Society's ANNUAL, edited at that time by her father George Butler Griffin.

REV. JOHN F. B. CARRUTHERS — book, "The Fun of It," by Amelia Earheart, published 1932, by Harcourt Brace and Company. Autographed by Amelia Earheart, Rev. John F. B. Carruthers, Charles F. Willard and Roy Knabenshue.

Activities of the Society

JANUARY MEETING

January meeting of the Society held at Los Angeles County Museum commemorated the 50th Anniversary of the First Air Meet in the United States. This first air meet was held at Dominguez Field on Rancho San Pedro, January 10-20, 1910. The meeting was called to order by Vice-President Justin G. Turner in the absence of President Gustave O. Arlt. Speaker, the late Dr. John F. B. Carruthers, Presbyterian minister and air history specialist. Dr. Carruthers described the opening days of the meet and other related items taken from newspaper accounts of 50 years ago. Two surviving pilots who competed in the meet, the late Roy Knabenshue, and Charles F. Willard were introduced. Dr. Carruthers presented the Society with autographed copy of Amelia Earhart's book "*The Fun of It.*" This book is also autographed by Dr. Carruthers, Charles F. Willard, and Roy Knabenshue. Members and guests were served at the refreshment table by Miss Jane Carruthers and Mrs. Ernest Yorba.

FEBRUARY MEETING

Wednesday, February 3, was our annual American History night at the Los Angeles County Museum. "*Lincoln in Retrospect,*" was the subject chosen by Vice-President Justin G. Turner. Mr. Turner discussed Lincoln as an international figure. He followed Lincoln's growth through the years; his meaning today as a symbol of freedom and liberty for all men, regardless of race, creed or color. He indicated the spirit of freedom was contagious; that England, France and Holland has lost a number of their colonies; that as the educational and economic status of the unenlightened masses in Asia, Africa and South America became improved, the stature of Lincoln throughout the years could only increase.

President Gustave O. Arlt spoke on "*Some New Sidelights on the Career of John Wilkes Booth.*" Dr. Arlt's lecture dealt with some less known aspects of the life of John Booth; particularly with

his unsuccessful investments in the oil industry of Western Pennsylvania. Among other things, Dr. Arlt exploded some unfounded legends about Lincoln's assassin which have found their way into many books about him.

Mmes. John C. Wolfskill and C. O. Dale poured for members and their friends after the meeting.

MARCH MEETING

An Evening at the Southwest Museum

Carl S. Dentzel, Director of the Southwest Museum, discussed "*The Westward Movement of American Art.*" Members were privileged to hear recordings of old wax cylinders cut under the supervision of Charles F. Lummis between 1904 and 1912. Capital Records recently installed new sound equipment and made transcriptions of these records as a gift to the Museum. Another feature of the evening was the showing of Paul Dyck's paintings "Indians of the Overland Trail, 1840-1850." Members and guests were served at the refreshment table by our gracious chairman of the Social Hour Mrs. Edmond F. Docummun and Mrs. K. L. Carver.

NEW MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY

The Officers and Board of Directors of the *Historical Society of Southern California* take pleasure in welcoming the following new members who have joined the Society since January 1, 1960.

LIFE

Mrs. Edward Canet

SUSTAINING

John D. Horrall

Clement O. Stiles

ANNUAL

Milford J. Alway
R. T. Antrim
Mary J. Blakeslee
Dr. Ray C. Coulton
Mrs. Norman Day
Mr. and Mrs. Elwood Dewig
George R. Doan
Norval N. Edwards
Clement J. Gagliano
Lewis Garrett
Stephen D. Gavin
Eleanor Gerdine
Mrs. L. vanHorn Gerdine
Robert C. Haase, Jr.
Mrs. Walter S. Hertzog, Jr.
Raymond E. Mack

H. George McMannus
Adalbert Walther Meade
E. Jerome Murphy
Mrs. J. Leland Newell
Mrs. Joyce I. Nichols
Mr. and Mrs. Warren S. Rogers
Joseph Schneider
James E. Simkins
Andrew M. Stodel
Mrs. Katherine L. Wagner
Leicester B. Yates
Los Angeles County Library, Newhall
Branch
Los Angeles County Library, Lancaster
Branch
Parkview Woman's Club

Historical Society of Southern California

PUBLICATIONS

IN-PRINT ANNUAL PUBLICATIONS

Vol. Part		Member Price	Non-Member Price
II	1 1891	\$3.00	\$3.00
III	4 1896	2.50	2.50
IV	1 1897	2.50	2.50
IV	2 1898	2.50	2.50
IV	3 1899	2.50	2.50
V	1 1900	2.50	2.50
V	2 1901	2.50	2.50
V	3 1902	2.50	2.50
VI	1 1903	2.50	2.50
VI	2 1904	2.50	2.50
VI	3 1905	2.50	2.50
VII	1 1906	2.50	2.50
VII	2-3 1907-1908	2.50	2.50
VIII	1-2 1909-1910	2.50	2.50
VIII	3 1911	2.50	2.50
IX	1-2 1912-1913	2.50	2.50
IX	3 1914	2.50	2.50
X	1-2 1915-1916	2.50	2.50
X	3 1917	2.50	2.50
XI	1 1918	2.50	2.50
XI	2 1919	2.50	2.50
XI	3 1920	2.50	2.50
XII	1 1921	2.50	2.50
XII	2 1922	2.50	2.50
XII	3 1923	2.50	2.50
XIII	1 1924	2.50	2.50
XIII	2 1925	2.50	2.50
XIII	3 1926	2.50	2.50
XIII	4 1927	2.50	2.50
XIV*	1 1928	2.50	2.50
XIV	2 1929	2.50	2.50
XIV	3 1930	2.50	2.50
XV	1 1931	5.00	5.00
XVI	1 1934	2.50	2.50

*Originally marked XIX in error.

OUT-OF-PRINT ANNUAL PUBLICATIONS

Year	Vol. Part	Year	Vol. Part
1884	I 1	1893	III 1
1886	I 2	1894	III 2
1887	I 3	1895	III 3
1888-1889	I 4	1932	XV 2-3
1890	I 5	1933	XV 4
1891	I 6		

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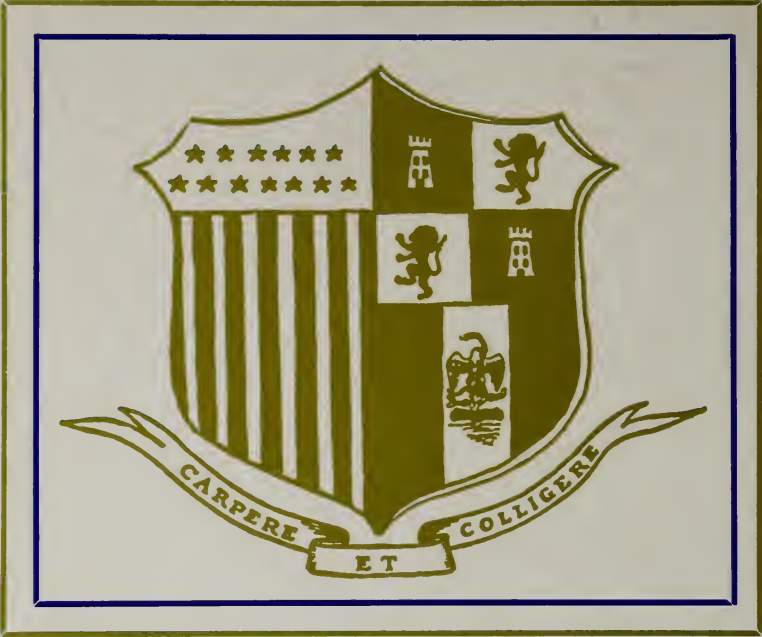
Year	Vol.	No.	Year	Vol.	No.
1935	XVII	2	1948	XXX	2
1935	XVII	3	1949	XXXI	1-2
1935	XVII	4	1949	XXXI	4
1936	XVIII	1	1950	XXXII	1
1936	XVIII	2	1950	XXXII	4
1936	XVIII	3-4	1952	XXXIV	2
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1937	XIX	2	1952	XXXIV	4
1940	XXII	1	1953	XXXV	4
1940	XXII	2	1955	XXXVII	2
1941	XXIII	2	1956	XXXVIII	1
1947	XXIX	1	1957	XXXIX	2
1948	XXX	1			

IN-PRINT QUARTERLY PUBLICATIONS

Vol.	No. Date	Member Price	Non-Member Price
XVII	1 March, 1935	\$2.00	\$3.00
XIX	3-4 Sept.-Dec., 1937	3.00	4.00
XX	1 March, 1938	2.00	3.00
XX	2 June, 1938	2.00	3.00
XX	3 September, 1938	2.00	3.00
XX	4 December, 1938	2.00	3.00
XXI	1 March, 1939	2.00	3.00
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XXII	3 September, 1940	2.00	3.00
XXII	4 December, 1940	2.00	3.00
XXIII	1 March, 1941	2.00	3.00
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XXIV	4 December, 1942	2.00	3.00
XXV	1-2 March-June, 1943	3.00	4.00
XXV	3 September, 1943	2.00	3.00
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XXVIII	4 December, 1946	2.00	3.00
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XXIX	3-4 Sept.-Dec., 1947	3.00	4.00
XXX	3 September, 1948	2.00	3.00
XXX	4 December, 1948	2.00	3.00
XXXI	3 September, 1949	2.00	3.00
XXXII	2 June, 1950	2.00	3.00
XXXII	3 September, 1950	2.00	3.00
XXXIII	1 March, 1951	2.00	3.00
XXXIII	2 June, 1951	2.00	3.00
XXXIII	3 September, 1951	2.00	3.00
XXXIII	4 December, 1951	2.00	3.00
XXXIV	3 September, 1952	2.00	3.00
XXXV	1 March, 1953	2.00	3.00
XXXV	2 June, 1953	2.00	3.00
XXXV	3 September, 1953	2.00	3.00
XXXVI	1 March, 1954	2.00	3.00
XXXVI	2 June, 1954	2.00	3.00
XXXVI	3 September, 1954	2.00	3.00
XXXVI	4 December, 1954	2.00	3.00
XXXVII	1 March, 1955	2.00	3.00
XXXVII	3 September, 1955	2.00	3.00
XXXVII	4 December, 1955	2.00	3.00
XXXVIII	2 June, 1956	2.00	3.00
XXXVIII	3 September, 1956	2.00	3.00
XXXVIII	4 December, 1956	2.00	3.00
XXXIX	1 March, 1957	2.00	3.00
XXXIX	3 September, 1957	2.00	3.00
XXXIX	4 December, 1957	2.00	3.00
XL	1 March, 1958	2.00	3.00
XL	2 June, 1958	2.00	3.00
XL	3 September, 1958	2.00	3.00
XL	4 December, 1958	2.00	3.00

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

1909 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles 18, California



June, 1960

Vol. XLII — No. 2

The
Historical Society of Southern California
QUARTERLY



— From the Author's Collection

EDWARD FITZGERALD BEALE

In the uniform of a Midshipman
(See story on page 107)

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA was organized in 1883, and has enjoyed a record of continuous activity for seventy-seven years. Commencing in 1884, and each year until 1934, the Society issued an ANNUAL Publication. In 1935 the QUARTERLY was initiated. It is published each March, June, September and December.

It is the aim of the Publications Committee to make the QUARTERLY a publication of general historical interest. Suggestions and criticisms are always welcomed, and all persons, whether members of the Society or not, are invited to submit for the consideration of the editors original articles, old letters, documents, maps and other material bearing upon the history and development of this region.

The Society's Purposes and Objectives are:

- To sponsor and encourage observances of historic dates and anniversaries;
- To preserve and protect the archives and historic sites of the Southwest with particular stress on Southern California;
- To assist in the marking and restoration of landmarks which inspire interest and respect for events, persons and customs of the past;
- To promote activity in the conservation of public records, historical documents, newspapers, museum material and related Californiana;
- To preserve, as an aid to business and industry, business records, industrial and transportation history and the use of historic material in public relations;
- To encourage the increased use of history in the schools, to the end that there shall be developed a greater interest in, respect for, and loyalty to our American institutions;
- To publish material of permanent historic interest and significance;
- To assist and encourage all persons and organizations engaged in similar activities;
- To hold regular monthly meetings in Los Angeles (except during the summer months) at which persons of recognized authority in their respective subjects appear as guest speakers, followed by refreshments and a social hour;
- To gather at least once each year in a pilgrimage to some spot of historic significance.

This Society is a public non-profit corporation. The principal sources of revenue for its operations and maintenance are from membership dues, contributions and bequests. It renders a needed public service and is worthy of your support.

MEMBERSHIP CLASSIFICATIONS:

(Dues include one subscription to the QUARTERLY)

<i>Life Member</i>	\$200.00	<i>Sustaining Member</i>	\$ 25.00
<i>Patron Member</i>	100.00	<i>Active Member</i>	10.00

Membership dues and contributions to the Society are deductible income tax items. Articles, stories, books for review, and all material to appear in the QUARTERLY (submitted at the owner's risk) should be addressed to the Editor. General correspondence should be addressed to the Society Secretary.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

MARGARET J. CASSIDY, *Executive Secretary*

1909 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles 18, California

Telephone REpublic 4-2823

The
Historical Society of Southern California

QUARTERLY

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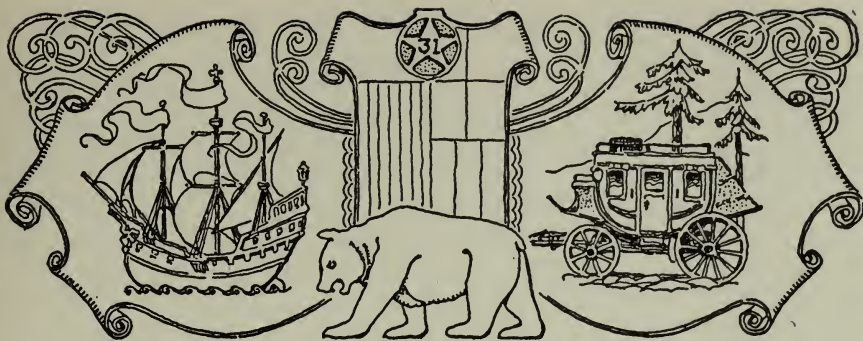
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The Historical Society of Southern California QUARTERLY for June, 1960

Edward Fitzgerald Beale *and the* Indian Peace Commissioners in California, 1851-1854

By Richard E. Crouter *and* Andrew F. Rolle

DURING THE AMERICANIZATION OF CALIFORNIA that followed the Gold Rush of 1848-49, Indian-white relations rapidly deteriorated. As hordes of settlers moved westward, an unprecedented series of assaults on the Indian by traders, cattlemen, miners, merchants and the military occurred. No real solution to the problem of preserving Indian rights seemed to exist as their lands were overrun and their tribal ways sorely challenged. Repeatedly, invading whites refused to accommodate themselves to Indian culture. Indeed, they virtually demanded that the Indian change his way of life to suit them. When the Indian struck back he could scarcely do so with any real unity. A genuine tribal organization never fully existed in California. Warfare between Indian groups was more often the rule.

While the Indians were disunited and able to launch only sporadic attacks of a protective sort, the whites were all too well organized for Indian extermination. Caucasians demanded and re-

ceived government protection. The United States Army stood on call behind the whites. Despite the vast western stretches which the War Department was called upon to patrol, Indian outbreaks were usually dealt with sternly. The practical result of white infiltration in the face of Indian weakness was gradual liquidation. If Mexico's secularization of California's missions in the 1830's had caused as serious decrease in their numbers, Indian losses in the gold rush era were simply devastating. It has been estimated that there were between one and two hundred thousand Indians in California when Commodore John Drake Sloat raised the Stars and Stripes at Monterey in 1846. From 1849 to 1856 alone the decrease in the Indian population probably numbered 50,000.

Disease and liquor conspired with bullet and knife to wreak havoc upon the Indian population. Pulmonary and venereal ailments, smallpox, and the ravages of Caucasian living wiped out the former security of Indian life under Mexican rule. Amid aggressive *gringos*, rancho Indians enjoyed no usufructuary or other rights to the land on which they lived. Some Americans paid no more heed to their presence on so-called government lands than if they were foxes or coyotes. Well-armed whites, the inheritors of the prejudices of two centuries of border warfare, were in no mood to acknowledge any rights as inhering in the California aborigines, to whom they applied the contemptuous name "Diggers."

Driven from their homes and from the land of their fathers, Indians were generally submissive, even when compelled to retreat to ever new refuges. Although most California Indians were patiently devoid of the fierceness of the plains Indians, some northern aborigines bitterly resented intrusion by the whites and preferred death to submission. This spirit of resistance accompanied by occasional depredations upon the property and livestock of Americans, brought on various so-called Indian "wars." Retaliation, by killing the first white man an Indian met after suffering an outrage, usually resulted in swift retribution — the literal wiping out of entire Indian *rancherias*.

In the towns and cities the Indians fared badly, too. Their wages were only half those paid to whites, while the conditions under which they worked were often unspeakably bad. Even worse, however, were the disastrous effects of their gambling and addiction to "firewater." "Never in the poorest huts of the most poverty-stricken wilds of Italy, Bavaria, Norway, and New Mexico," protested Helen Hunt Jackson, had she seen anything "so loathsome as the kennels in which some of the San Diego Indians are living." Almost nothing was done to help such native outcasts.

Edward Fitzgerald Beale and the Indian Peace Commissioners

As early as 1849 the federal government took steps to develop an Indian policy for California by sending numerous officials into the state. That year Thomas Butler King was commissioned to study Indian conditions and Adam Johnston was made Indian sub-agent for the Sacramento-San Joaquin area. In 1850 a United States Indian peace commission, with an appropriation of \$50,000, was appointed, consisting of Redick McKee, George W. Barbour, and Oliver Wozencraft. Their job was to contact more than a hundred tribal bands and chieftains in order to allocate specific tracts of land to each of these.

In a report to the President of the United States, written November 29, 1851, Secretary of the Interior, Alexander H. Stuart, stated that "a temporizing system can no longer be pursued toward the American Indian." The collective wisdom of the nation's leaders had, as yet, however, failed to produce a permanent solution to the problem. In mid-nineteenth century the United States population still surged westward, skipping over the vast mid-west to settle in the farthest west, including California. The United States government had removed the Indian, in as expedient a manner as possible, from land desired by white settlers. In his report to the President, Secretary of the Interior Stuart piously asserted:

The policy of removal, except under peculiar circumstances, must necessarily be abandoned. And the only alternative left is to civilize or exterminate them. We must adopt one or the other. A just, humane, and Christian people cannot long hesitate which to choose; and it only remains to decide upon the means necessary to be adopted to effect the contemplated revolution in the Indian character and destiny.¹

Such an idealistic policy, if fully implemented by the government, would, indeed, have caused a revolution. Therefore, subsequent developments concerning the Indian's welfare proved more evolutionary than revolutionary. Rather than any sudden change in the popular attitude toward the Indian, America's treatment of her native inhabitants remained, ironically, worse than that accorded European minorities seeking refuge in the United States. Only in the late nineteenth century did a reform movement of political significance develop. Helen Hunt Jackson, an avid proponent of reform, in 1881, decried wrongs perpetuated by the government in dealing with the Indian population.²

A significant chapter in the development of Indian reform concerns the policy pursued by the federal Office of Indian Affairs among Indians on the mining frontier of California. Expansion to the Pacific had occurred so suddenly, as a result of the gold catalyst in 1848, that the government could scarcely undertake immediate

Indian resettlement operations in California. Three problems had combined to create a vexing situation. Spanish and Mexican land grants were still held operative over large ranchos; numerous settlers claimed squatter's rights upon the public domain; and the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, which, in 1848, handed California to the United States, officially called for American respect for either Indian or rancho property rights. In addition, many Washington officials were ignorant of the unusual economic complexities in gold rush California.

Although annexation led to the admission of California as the thirty-first state, September 9, 1850, it remained unmapped. Much of its geography was still a mystery, and the count of its Indian population continued to be conjectural, with estimates varying from 50,000 to 300,000.³ Before land could be set aside for these Indians California must, furthermore, be freed of prior Mexican settler's preemption claims.

Racial strife mounted in the 'fifties as bands of aboriginal mountain predators crossed the Cajon Pass from the Mojave basin, raiding the cattle ranches of southern California. Other raids were frequently conducted in the Four Creeks area of the San Joaquin Valley, near the present site of Visalia. Conflict between Indian and white, under these circumstances, was inevitable.

Frankly shocked at the situation in California was French Vice-Consul M. Jules Barthelemy Lombard, who, in 1851, reported to his superiors that "it would be difficult, Monsieur le Ministre, from such a long distance, to get a real idea of the state of anarchy and loot which exists in this country." Lombard reported how, suffering from the brutality of whites, the California Indians "turned themselves into open warfare with the Anglo-Saxon race."⁴

The suggestion of revenge upon the Indian raiders by the Los Angeles *Star* and other local papers was not uncommonly made. "A party of fifty to seventy-five men could easily proceed to their camp, give them a whipping — one, too, that they would remember — and get back again in two or three weeks," the *Star* suggested.⁵ The San Jose *Daily Argus*, asserted that the root of the difficulty lay not with the Indian but "that 'blame' to any considerable degree rests upon 'our own race.'"⁶

Unrest among the Indians reached a climax in 1851. James D. Savage, a white trader called by some "king of the Tulare Indians," grew concern upon learning that all over the central valley, Indians were moving their women and children to the mountains. Because this looked like the start of a general uprising, Sheriff James Burney, of Mariposa County, raised a company of seventy-four men,

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who met on January 6, 1851, near Agua Fria, and proceeded to attack an Indian *rancheria*. Governor McDougal next ordered the creation of a volunteer group, under the leadership of Savage, who was given the title of major. On January 24, 1851, his Mariposa Battalion began a war to end the Indian depredations along the Merced River. McDougal confidently anticipated that a federal expenditure would be granted to cover the expense. The cost of financing the Mariposa Battalion, approximately \$240,000, was handed over by the state to the federal government.⁷ About the only dividend accruing to the whites from this confusing expedition was the official discovery of the Yosemite Valley.

While the Mariposa War served to focus attention upon Indian depredations in the north, a threat of seemingly equal severity was made to the security of Southern California. In December, 1851, Antonio Garra, of the Warner ranch district, began an insurrection among the Indians there, that excited residents of Los Angeles and San Bernardino by threatening to eradicate all whites. Ironically, Garra was finally captured, and the uprising quelled by one called Juan Antonio, a Cahuilla Indian chief.

Indian agent Adam Johnston, working incessantly, effected considerable improvement in Indian conditions, but lacked specific orders and manpower to govern Indian affairs for the entire state. This would be supplied by the three Indian agents authorized by Congress. Arriving at San Francisco, early in 1851, were McKee of Virginia, Barbour of Kentucky, and Wozencraft of Louisiana.⁸ At a meeting on January 13, McKee was appointed disbursing officer responsible for the funds of the group. His son, John, was chosen their secretary. Thrust into the midst of the "Mariposa War," the commissioners' work demanded immediate attention. Caution, however, was also desirable. It was necessary to sound out leadership in the state legislature and to ascertain the attitudes of residents of the agricultural and mining settlements before Indian treaties could be enacted. The commissioners, however, immediately protested Savage's volunteer raids against the commissioners' Indian wards. Governor McDougal, yielding to their will, issued a restraining order which led to the disbanding of the Mariposa Battalion on July 1, 1851.

The dilemma of McKee, Barbour, and Wozencraft, however, grew after their arrival in San Francisco. What were their actual powers granted by the federal government? Except for the idea that they were to negotiate treaties and conduct Indian Affairs in California, instructions had been extremely vague. Should they erect small military posts for the enforcement of the treaties? Had they

the power to appoint competent aides to superintend and manage in their absence? Anticipating full government support, their action was guided by what they believed would be the most effective way to conclude a series of treaties. The commissioners were dismayed when no further government appropriations were made after two original grants of \$25,000.

Government refusal of further money was difficult to understand, for communications received, as early as May, 1851, from the Department of Indian Affairs in Washington, indicated complete support of their work. One message from Washington read: "The Department fully appreciates the difficulties with which you have had to contend in executing the important trust confided to you, and is highly gratified with the results you have thus far achieved." On June 25, as McKee anxiously awaited funds, the Department wrote that it was unable immediately to comply with the necessary appropriation because Congress was not then in session. A statement from the government advised McKee to "fix the time of payment at a period sufficiently in the future to allow time for Congress to act."⁹

On January 15, 1851, California newspapers published an "Address to the Citizens" — an open letter composed by the Indian Agents. It explained the noble character of the job to which they had been called. McKee, Barbour, and Wozencraft appealed to California settlers and miners for cooperation "in restoring to the frontier settlements the peaceful and amicable relations which once so happily existed between them and the Indians."¹⁰

Other factions, more in the mood of the Mariposa Battalion, however, demanded an immediate showdown and settlement with the Indians of the interior. Such an attitude was deflected in an editorial of the *Daily Pacific News*.

We believe the Commission fully competent, with the aid of gentlemen well acquainted with the Indian character, who are ready to cooperate, to settle the whole matter, if it be possible, without the last appeal. But if that be done it must be done quickly. The Saxon blood is up and when it is so, like the rolling Mississippi, no slight levee will stay it within its channels.¹¹

Judge John G. Marvin, recently elected Superintendent of Public Education, believed that it would be necessary to give the Indians a severe beating before they would respect the power of the whites to negotiate treaties.

As the commissioners became involved in their work, Adam Johnston discovered himself to be in a subordinate position. Since April, 1849, he had supplied the Indians of the San Joaquin Valley with more beef and flour than was actually stipulated. He had

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even promoted their vaccination for smallpox, which was rampant. Without necessary congressional appropriations, these unauthorized actions led to Johnston's dismissal early in 1852.¹² His long residence in California and intimate knowledge of the obstinate mountain tribes, made Johnston less conciliatory than the commissioners. In favor of a vigorous course of action, he asserted privately that "nothing can be done for some time to come with many of the mountain tribes . . . they will doubtless give the government much trouble."¹³ Johnston, however, discreetly restrained himself from public criticism, allowing the new commissioners a free hand in their own policy.

Of the commissioners, McKee was the most adamant in maintaining that peaceful rather than forceful means must be followed to lure the aborigines into negotiations. Instructions given the commissioners by the government enabled these men to work separately or together. The three elected to work as a team. Travel in the California interior was begun with a retinue of assistants and pack animals supplied by Military Governor General Persifer F. Smith. Moving slowly, the commissioners frequently stopped to assure the various Indians of their peaceful intentions, guaranteeing safe conduct to those who were willing to come together for the purpose of treaty-making.

The peace commissioners completed their first treaty on the Tuolumne River, March 19, 1851. Another was concluded at Camp Barbour, on the San Joaquin River, April 29, 1851.¹⁴ Thereafter the commissioners divided their responsibilities geographically. All land west of the coast ranges and north of the headwaters of the Sacramento was given to McKee for supervision; the middle region, from the Sacramento to the headwaters of the San Joaquin was received by Wozencraft; and Barbour drew all of the state lying south of the San Joaquin.¹⁵ Wozencraft remained in San Francisco during May, meeting six tribes near Knight's Ferry, and then moved on to a gathering with Indians of the King's River area on August 20, 1851.¹⁶

In the northern region, McKee was pleased with the progress of his negotiations. From the boarding house where he lived while inspecting conditions, McKee wrote: "The Indians are said to be well contented with the treaties — scrupulous in observance of their stipulations and many of them working industriously either in agricultural pursuits, or in the mines . . ."¹⁷ In an address made to the Standing Committee on Indian Affairs of the California Legislature, McKee explained that the commission was attempting to colonize Indians upon reservations to be surrounded by whites.

Such a system, he asserted, would prevent extensive concentration of the tribes. A vital part of the aid to be given these Indians, beyond assimilation into white agriculture and mining, would be instruction in the "arts of civilization," to be administered by teachers established on each reservation. When questioned about placement of Indians among the white miners, McKee informed the legislature that it was absurd to say that all the Indian reservations would be located where there was no gold. But, he assured legislators, "If time and experience should show that these reservations were too large or contained valuable minerals, then peaceful measures would be taken by the Government to confine them within more narrow limits, or remove them elsewhere."¹⁸

Commissioner George W. Barbour, traveling with a military escort, proceeded southward, having agreed upon the necessity of establishing a base near the San Joaquin (later Camp Barbour) reservation.¹⁹ From this agency food was made available to the Tulare Indians by a contract between Barbour and John C. Frémont, by which the latter turned over to the commissioners nineteen hundred head of cattle, valued at \$183,825.00 Barbour next sent word to tribes living south of the Kern River to meet him in the Tejon Pass region, at Camp Persifer F. Smith. On June 10, 1851, Barbour signed a treaty with the chiefs of eleven tribes. Although they ceded all claims to land south of the Tehachapi Mountains, the Indians were granted sole rights to a tract between the Tehachapi Mountains and the Kern River, comprising 763,000 acres.²⁰

When he ran out of money, in late June, further treaty prospects for Barbour in southern California appeared hopeless. He, therefore, requested leave to winter in the east and sailed from San Francisco on October 4, 1851. His resignation was received by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in Washington on February 2, 1852. In this final report to his superior, Barbour upheld the terms of his treaties, asserting that poverty of the Indians and their unjust treatment at the hands of whites demanded the somewhat generous agreements he had made.²¹

An early concern for public acceptance of the treaties is evident in a letter sent by Barbour, on behalf of his colleagues, to the editors of the San Francisco *Alta California*, September, 1851. It was Barbour's intention to "disabuse the public mind and *miners, in particular*, in relation to the supposed extent and great *mineral and agricultural* wealth of those districts" then being handed to the Indians.²² Settlers in the interior of California were depicted as ignorant of the facts, even willfully misrepresenting work of the

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Indian commission. Like McKee, Barbour asserted that more trouble was caused by the whites than by the Indians.²³

Between March 19, 1851, and January 7, 1852, Commissioners McKee, Barbour, and Wozencraft had negotiated a total of eighteen treaties with the California Indians.²⁴ Embracing one hundred thirty-nine tribes, and involving one-half of California's Indian population, these agreements promised the Indians annuities of beef, blankets and other badly-needed supplies. Altogether, 7,488,000 acres, or about one-fourteenth of the state, were set aside as a permanent Indian domicile. The original treaty of March 19, which served as pattern for the others, was signed by six tribes, granting them a reservation between the Merced and Tuolumne Rivers. Acknowledging United States sovereignty, the tribes yielded any right to land outside their new reservations.

The federal appropriation for all this treaty work had been only \$50,000, but the total cost of the eighteen treaties, if ratified, would be \$716,394.79. McKee, Barbour, and Wozencraft defended this disparity between appropriation and expenditure, pleading the necessity of contracts than met the existing situation. The commissioners believed that their work easily justified additional government spending. On the other hand the provisions of their treaties were specifically subject to ratification by the Senate of the United States. A directive from Commissioner of Indian Affairs Luke Lea to McKee in California had, after all, warned that the commissioners "fix the time of payment at a period sufficiently in the future to allow time for Congress to act."

California newspapers from 1851-1852 indicate the ferment of society at the time of the Indian treaties. Those opposed to the commissioners believed that whites must kill or be killed. Treaties, even if properly negotiated by federal commissioners, would hardly be effective in stopping the slaughter. What regard did Indians have for the conventions and laws of white men? Spearheading the opposition was the *Sacramento Placer Times and Transcript*. The work of the commissioners was appraised by the *Times* as seeking to cover the entire state with Indian reservations, which, upon completion, would comprise one-half of all its arable and mineral land. Attacking the impact made by the commissioners the *Times* warned: "Much has been said about . . . taxes upon miners, but nothing has been done thus far which is likely so seriously to effect this class of our citizens as the Indian reservations."²⁵ The new Indian reservations were seen by the *Times* solely as a guise for profiteering among gold seekers.

Willing to dissent from other journalistic efforts was the *Alta*

California of San Francisco. In September, 1851, the *Alta* was laudatory:

The Commissioners have done much towards the accomplishment of their labors, and have every reason to be gratified at the result, especially when we consider that the appropriation upon which they were to depend was entirely inadequate, that their funds have long ago been exhausted, and that they have been long without advices from Washington.²⁶

During the next month, amid the violent verbiage of an editorial feud, both the *Times* and *Alta* were forced into more extreme positions regarding the commissioners. The *Times* warned that:

It would be well for the *Alta California* to examine carefully what its correspondent writes before it lends aid to induce the Senate of the United States to confirm the Indian treaties, which have been made in California, for there may be iniquity which it has not yet fathomed . . .²⁷

Accompanying this battle of the press was discussion of the Indian Peace Commission in the state Senate and Assembly. Barely one week after the arrival of McKee, Barbour, and Wozencraft in California, Governor McDougal, in a special message to the legislature, had stated that an end to Indian hostilities must come from within the state. Washington, he asserted, had no effective means of handling the problem. "We must," McDougal insisted, "rely upon ourselves for this purpose as circumstances warrant . . ."²⁸ Under Governor McDougal's successor, John Bigler, a policy mistrustful of the commissioners became one of obstructionism. Bigler urged "rejection of the treaties by which these reservations are secured." The *Alta* commented upon the strange fact that Bigler's recommendation was

urged upon the Legislature almost in the same breath with another, asking Congress to assume and pay the entire Indian war debt of the State, which but for the labors of these Commissioners, and the provisions of these identical treaties, would by this time have been eight or ten instead of two millions (sic) of dollars.²⁹

The San Jose *Weekly Visitor*, in February, 1852, argued that if the reservations were sustained, growth of the state would be retarded. It was therefore the governor's duty to call for action on the part of the Legislature. In reviewing the recent treaties, the Standing Committee on Indian Affairs of the California Senate and Assembly presented a majority report, objecting to any recognition of the Indian rights to California soil. The Standing Committee advocated removal of Indians beyond the jurisdiction of sovereign states — as the only policy which could properly be pursued.

State Senator J. J. Warner of San Diego County was the only

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member of the Legislature to oppose the majority report. Warner asserted that, "If the Indians are to be told that those Commissioners had no power to make treaties or that the President or Government can falsify itself, will you expect them, hereafter, to enter into any treaty or keep one inviolate after having entered into it?"³⁰ In presenting the minority report, the San Diego senator argued the impracticability of removing Indians from the state, and urged that senators examine fully into the treaties of the Commission. If found to be "impolitic, onerous, or burdensome to the people of this State" the senators might then "use the influence of their position to have such treaties altered or amended . . ."³¹

Less tactful than Warner was an address to the Legislature delivered by McKee barely two days before its nearly unanimous vote condemned the treaties. He openly charged both houses with having slandered his colleagues' work for the purpose of influencing public opinion within the state and in Washington.³² The moment of calm promoted by J. J. Warner suddenly collapsed in a legislative showdown on March 22, 1852, when the original resolutions urging rejection of the treaties were adopted.³³

In spite of other efforts to justify the commissioners' actions, the eighteen treaties lay under official condemnation by the State of California. To California's United States Senators, then elected by vote of the Legislature, it would have been suicidal not to act in accordance with the resolves. It only remained for legislative processes to carry the treaties into the United States Congress where the struggle would be continued.

The last of the eighteen treaties was received in Washington, D. C., February 18, 1852. Officials within the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Department of Interior were aware that violent opposition existed against the treaties and that the California delegation in Congress solidly opposed them.³⁴ In an official report submitted to the Secretary of the Interior, Indian Commissioner Lea asserted that "there is reason to believe that much good has resulted" from the efforts of McKee, Barbour, and Wozencraft to end hostilities.³⁵ Realizing that governmental policy and appropriations had provided little stimulus to effective Indian negotiations, Lea suggested that a new, independent office be established to govern Indian affairs in California. Lea echoed the views of his predecessor, Indian commissioner Orlando Brown. In 1847, Brown had recommended the establishment of three such offices for tribes west of the Rocky Mountains to lessen dependence upon the often inept agents and sub-agents in the Far West.

Embarrassed by the large financial commitments of the eighteen treaties and the open opposition by congressmen from California, the Washington Indian Office agreed that a permanent representative was needed in California. Accordingly, an independent Indian superintendency was established March 3, 1852. On the following day, Edward Fitzgerald Beale was named Superintendent of Indian Affairs for California. With a new Indian Appropriation Bill and action on the eighteen treaties pending in Congress, Beale delayed his departure for California until August, electing to remain in Washington amid the debate over the treaties. Beale performed routine administrative tasks: computing a budget, making personnel recommendations, and buying supplies, preparatory to leaving for California.

Only thirty years old when appointed to the superintendency, Beale, following graduation from Annapolis in 1842, quickly achieved the rank of Lieutenant in the Pacific Naval Fleet. The outbreak of the Mexican War in 1846 furthered Beale's military and frontier experiences. He emerged from the battle of San Pascual as a hero and lifelong friend of Kit Carson. Upon the discovery of gold in California in 1848, Beale was chosen official Naval emissary to carry the precious metal from the Sacramento Valley, in order to authenticate its discovery in Washington. Returning to California after carrying the gold east, Beale entered the transportation business. For a time most river routes leading from Sacramento and Marysville to the American Fork and Sutter's ranch were controlled by Beale as manager for the firm of W. H. Aspinwall and Commodore Stockton. As an enterpriser on the California mining frontier, Beale had witnessed firsthand the Indian-white atrocities of the early 'fifties. His desire for government service, combined with his reputation for "courage, coolness in the face of danger, unconquerable energy and determination" led to the federal appointment of March 4, 1852.³⁶

Indian Commissioner Lea asked the new superintendent, on the basis of recent experience in California, to appraise the eighteen treaties prior to action by the Senate. Beale's report, delivered to Lea on May 11, contained only a minor point of criticism that was directed at the formal establishment of schools for the Indians, "their present state of civilization and advancement being such as to preclude the possibility of their appreciating the benefits to be derived from such instruction."³⁷ Otherwise, Beale unequivocally urged ratification of the treaties by the Senate. Whether his recommendation was based upon their intrinsic merit, or fear that rejection would cause an Indian uprising, may only be surmised. Beale was

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aware that, if approved by the Senate, responsibility for enactment of the treaties would pass to the newly created Indian office.

Neither the admonition of J. J. Warner nor the recommendation of Edward F. Beale was sufficient to prevail against the stream of public opinion and political influence. The eighteen treaties were submitted to the United States Senate, June 1, and on June 8, 1852, they were individually and collectively rejected in a secret session of that body. The Senate obviously was in no mood to pay the immense claims against the United States that would remove large areas of land from public and private use. While most of these claims were never paid, several, including \$183,825 to John C. Frémont and \$7,000 to Oliver M. Wozencraft, were quietly granted in the next few years.³⁸

Rejection of the eighteen treaties in the Senate precipitated numerous difficulties just short of a general Indian uprising. As the treaties were undergoing debate, Gen. E. A. Hitchcock, United States Army commander in California, "rebuked the miners who were intruding upon the reservations set apart for the Indians, maintaining that until the treaties were rejected they must be respected."³⁹ Following rejection of the treaties, "respect" for Indian rights was replaced by a policy of defiance. Mountain tribes which had been persuaded to leave their traditional homes in order to live in a valley reservation never experienced the rewards promised them for their removal. Legitimate claims of Indian traders were never honored by the government; the flow of needed supplies to the Indian abruptly ended.

Prior to rejection of the treaties, President Millard Fillmore had recommended that Congress increase army strength to enable the War Department to provide greater protection to the frontier settlements in California. Also urging such increased military force against the rebuffed Indians were Senators Gwin and Weller of California who obtained an appropriation of \$100,000 in order to purchase supplies and gifts for appeasement of the California Indians.⁴⁰

Beale departed from New York City for California on August 5, and arrived in San Francisco on September 16, 1852. Congress passed an Indian Appropriation Act providing \$14,000 for his salary and that of a clerk, together with contingent expenses. When Beale reached California, the state of Indian affairs was in hopeless confusion. Wozencraft and McKee had not been among the Indians for months; contracts with the Indians had been mismanaged, neglected and terminated. In order to determine where the blame lay, Beale ordered an investigation of his predecessors.⁴¹

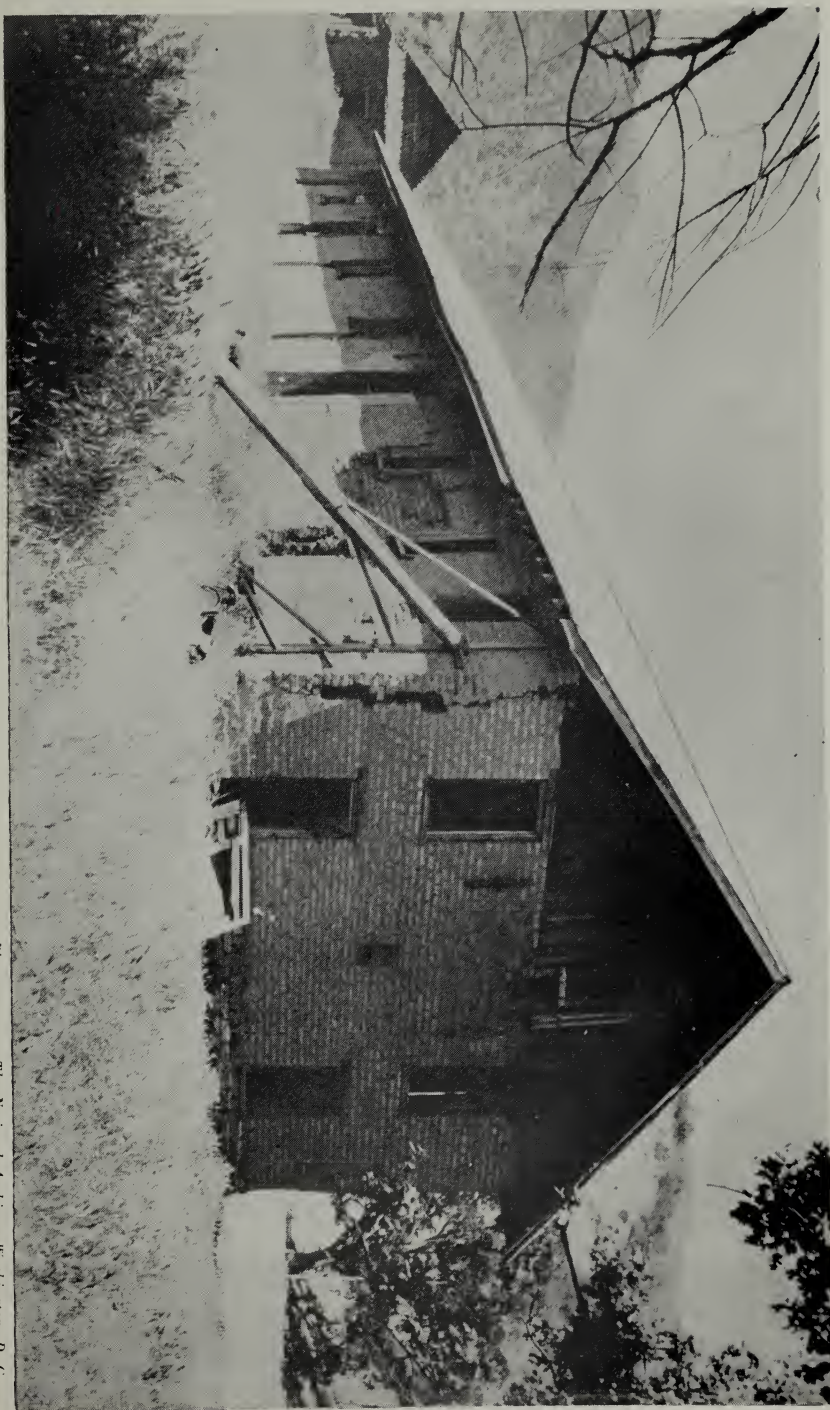
Barbour had tendered his resignation in February and Wozen-craft, protesting the lack of funds, resigned soon after Beale's appointment. McKee, who elected to remain, was assigned to the middle region of the state, but, disliking his new subordinate capacity, soon became involved in a controversy with Beale and was suspended on November 30, 1852.

Undismayed by the confusion, Beale sought for some means to provide Indians aid in a manner acceptable to the California public. He hit upon the idea of an experimental reservation, to offer agricultural work to about one thousand Indians. This self-supporting farming unit became so successful that Beale made plans to establish other small reservations. The concepts evolved by Beale reflected his military training and were reminiscent of the Spanish mission system. Each reservation was to be garrisoned by a military post. Without offering a tract of land to the Indians, the government invited them to work on the reservations, where instruction in agriculture and handicraft labor was to be made available. Beale returned to Washington early in 1853, hoping to obtain political backing for his latest plans, and, if possible, to secure a necessary appropriation which he estimated to be \$500,000.

Arriving in Washington, Beale found political figures that were not only receptive to his ideas for reservations, but willing to give them needed support. Beale received the backing of William K. Sebastian, Senator from Arkansas, and Chairman of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, who, during February and March, 1853, arose in the Senate to urge that, "some legislation of this kind is absolutely necessary to correct the state of affairs now prevailing in California which no one can wish to see continued." Sebastian begged that his fellow legislators "be startled neither at the amount asked for or at the almost unlimited power which it is found necessary to confer on the Superintendent for the Indians."⁴² Prompted by the arguments of Sebastian, an Indian Appropriation Act, with an amendment that embodied the Beale plan, was unanimously carried by Congress on March 3, 1853. Under these provisions the President of the United States was authorized to establish five military reservations either in the State of California or in the territories of Utah and New Mexico. The sum of \$250,000, one half of that recommended by Beale, was appropriated to cover his expenses.

Encouraged by such senatorial backing, Beale set out again for California, this time proceeding overland, exploring a possible central route to the Pacific.⁴³ A party of twelve, jointly led by Beale and an associate, Gwin Harris Heap, arrived in California in August, 1853. Authority granted the new superintendent by the federal

Edward Fitzgerald Beale and the Indian Peace Commissioners



FORT TEJON, CALIFORNIA

— Photo courtesy The National Archives, Washington, D. C.

No. 144 LAND OFFICE at *Los Angeles, June 8,* 1863.
 I, *Edward Fitzgerald* of *San Francisco* County *California*,
 do hereby apply to purchase the *North East* quarter of the *Southeast quarter*
 of *Thirty-two* Section *Forty* in Township *Seven North* of Range
Twelve West containing *Forty* Acres, according
 to the returns of the Surveyor General, for which I have agreed with the Register to give at the rate of One Dollar and
 Twenty-five cents per acre.
 I, *J. P. Ramsey* Register of the Land Office at *Los Angeles, Cal.*
 do hereby certify, that the Lot above described contains *Forty* acres Acres,
 as mentioned above, and that the price agreed upon is One Dollar and Twenty-five Cents per acre.

J. P. Ramsey

Register.

— From the Author's Collection

APPLICATION FOR LAND PURCHASE

Edward Fitzgerald Beale and the Indian Peace Commissioners

government caused a stir of optimism in California. First to express this optimism was General Hitchcock, who wrote Beale, cautioning his friend of the necessity for careful budgeting of government funds in order to insure the success of his work.⁴⁴

Beale's party was met at Los Angeles by Benjamin Davis Wilson, respected resident of Southern California, and recently appointed by President Fillmore as an Indian sub-agent. Collaborating with the new superintendent, Wilson submitted a report advocating removal of the Southern California Indian to an area east of any populated area, perhaps as far eastward as the Colorado River. While such a policy may have been popular among white residents, it was not seriously considered by Beale.⁴⁵

In reporting the return of Beale and his plans for military reservations, the Los Angeles *Star* of September 3, 1853, reflected the hopeful spirit of local residents.

We trust fervently, that now we are to have a complete change for the better, in the aspect of Indian Affairs for California, which must take place if the efforts of the government and its agents meet with a proper sympathy and consideration from the people of this state. . .⁴⁶

Other newspapers, such as the San Francisco *Herald* and the San Joaquin *Republican* joined the *Star* to promote public opinion sympathetic to Beale's plans.⁴⁷ Many of the objections voiced against the Indian Commission were not revived against Beale. The maximum acreage allotted by the government for the new reservation system was 125,000 acres compared to the almost incredible total granted by the commissioners which had been 7,488,000.

Upon completion of an initial survey of the Indian country, Beale reported the California situation to the successor of Luke Lea as Indian Commissioner, George W. Manypenny. The text of Beale's letter, sent September 30, 1853, shows the progress of his work and his interest in the Tejon Valley as an ideal reservation site.

Sir: In pursuance of the intention which I communicated to you in my letter of the 26th, I left Los Angeles on the 30th, and arrived at the Tejon Pass on the 2nd inst.

I found the Indians in that quarter quietly engaged in farming, but anxious to know the intentions of the government towards them. Mr. Edwards, whom I had employed as a farming agent, had been unable to assure them of anything permanent in relation to their affairs. He had, however, with great tact, and with the assistance of Mr. Alexander Godey, by traveling from tribe to tribe and talking constantly with them, succeeded in preventing any outbreak or disturbance in the San Joaquin Valley.

I immediately collected together the headmen and chiefs . . . With these Indians I held council for two days explaining to them

the intentions of the government in relation to their future support. After long deliberations . . . they agreed to accept the terms I had offered them: . . . That the government should commence a system of farming instruction . . . That for this purpose the government would furnish them with seed of all kinds . . . I pointed out to them the impossibility of their remaining any longer a barrier to the rapid settlement of the State, and of the necessity which existed that they should leave their old homes in the mountains and settle . . . where the government would be able to watch and protect them from the whites as well as the whites from them . . .

The Tejon Valley, or at least a large portion of it, is said to be covered by a Spanish grant; but as I found no settlers on it, or any evidence it had been settled; and under the fact that there is no other place where the Indians could be placed without the same objection, I concluded to go on with the farming system at that point and leave it to Congress to purchase the land should the title prove good, or remove the Indians to some less suitable locality.

E. F. BEALE, Superintendent of Indian Affairs⁴⁸

A reservation at the Tejon Pass which led through the Tehachapi Mountains to Los Angeles would enable the government to restrain the warlike actions of hostile southern tribes. Furthermore, the Tejon Valley, composed of fertile land capable of irrigation, would enable Beale to repeat the success of his experimental farm — a self-sufficient Indian reservation. Ignoring a nearby Spanish land grant, Beale claimed the Tejon Valley as government property because it had never been settled.⁴⁹

The Tejon or Sebastian Reservation was formally established by Superintendent Beale in September, 1853. Since the earliest days of California the Tejon Pass served as an inland cattle and trade route between Southern California and the San Joaquin Valley. At the time of Beale's arrival the number of Indians residing in the area was estimated at only three hundred fifty.⁵⁰ A statement made by Alonzo Ridley, an Indian trader at Tejon Pass, substantiates Beale's recognition that the Indians of this region were restless as to their future.

Since the treaty concluded June 10, 1851, by Commissioner Barbour had failed of ratification, the Tejon, Cas-take, and nine other Indian tribes had been so uncertain of that future, that they feared extermination by the white man. Many of these Indians had moved to the Tejon Valley as a result of the treaty with Barbour. In their agreement with Barbour they ceded claims to land south of the Tehachapi Mountains, thereby protecting residents of Los Angeles and San Bernardino previously menaced by the Indians.⁵¹ It was only natural that such Indians would distrust Beale; few of Barbour's promises had materialized. In addition to one hundred-fifty head

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of beef annually distributed to the eleven tribes, Barbour had pledged:

six large and six small ploughs, twelve sets of harness complete, twelve work mules or horses, twelve yoke of California oxen, fifty axes, one hundred hoes, fifty spades or shovels, fifty mattocks or picks, all necessary seeds for sowing and planting for one year, one thousand pounds of iron, two hundred pounds of steel, five hundred blankets, two pair of coarse pantaloons and two flannel shirts for each man and boy over fifteen years old, one thousand yards of linsey cloth, same of cotton cloth, and same of coarse calico, for clothing for the women and children, twenty-five pounds of thread, three thousand needles, two hundred thimbles, six dozen pairs of scizzors and six grindstones.⁵²

Other assurances made the Indians by Barbour included government personnel: a blacksmith, a man "skilled in the business of farming," a carpenter, and several teachers whose schoolhouse would be erected at government expense.

The most striking fact about Beale's new Tejon Reservation was that it comprised 75,000 acres of the immense land tract ceded to the Indians in Barbour's rejected treaty. Although Beale himself heartily approved of the unratified treaties of his predecessors, no attempt was made to build on their terms. He now sought to build upon his own system of Indian government. Such an attitude may have been unavoidable. An essential part of Beale's task was to evade the conflict that impeded the prior agents in California.

Possessing an enlightened policy, it was Beale's firm intention that Indians be made useful, self-supporting members of society. His germinal idea of placing them on small reservations, to which they would withdraw by simple agreement, was later to be extended throughout the west. Soon after founding the Tejon reserve, Beale wrote that his feelings for his wards, "which at first were merely those of compassion, are rapidly changing into deep interest in their welfare, and in many instances to a personal attachment."⁵³ Work at Tejon preceeded so well that Beale quickly gave the Indians a voice in their affairs, selecting various chiefs to meet as a council where they would aid in policy and the disposal of crop surpluses. The *Los Angeles Star* reported that Beale had "cut up the reserve into allotments or *rancherias* under the supervision of Indian chiefs. The seven Indian *rancherias* were located on different sections of the reservation, being established apart from one another in semblance of the old Indian tribal groups."⁵⁴ Beale never hesitated to criticize local citizens when word reached him of injustice being done by whites.

Engrossed in the reservation at Tejon, Beale became somewhat



THE TEJON INDIAN RESERVATION

In Barbour's treaty of June 10, 1851, the Tejon, Cas-take, and nine other Indian tribes ceded any claim to the white man's domain in Area 286. The tribes agreed to withdraw to Area 285, a reservation comprising 763,000 acres. The Tejon Reservation of Edward F. Beale was subsequently established, September, 1853, in Area 311, approximately 75,000 acres. SEE Royce, LAND CESSIONS IN THE UNITED STATES, II, n. p.

negligent in keeping accurate financial records. Although he considered such matters of secondary importance, the federal government, still smarting over debts accrued by the three commissioners, demanded minutely accurate records. An ardent supporter of Beale, Missouri Senator Thomas H. Benton, who consistently promoted the development of the American West, advised the superintendent of Washington sentiment: "I think you should make a special report on the Indian department debts in California — reporting every one to the Government, that you can find out, with the justice, or injustice of each."⁵⁵ For his own protection Beale was urged to pay more attention to his bookkeeping.

Early in 1854, in spite of successful operation of Tejon, Beale discovered that his position needed increasing protection. His ruthlessness in disciplining subordinate Indian agents had produced a host of discredited officials in Washington who were engaged in a whispering campaign, designed to cause his dismissal. Originally appointed by President Fillmore's Whig administration, the California Indian Superintendent had been continued in office by the Democratic administration of Franklin Pierce. Nevertheless, formal charges later claimed that Beale's financial accounts were out of order and the superintendent, himself, guilty of embezzlement.

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Early in 1854 Beale traveled to Washington on his own behalf and accounted for \$360,000 of public funds in the presence of the Treasury Department. His accusers, however, on May 1, 1854, reported his financial records in arrears to the extent of nearly \$250,000. Beale's requested appropriation for Indian Affairs in California, then pending in Congress, was consequently cut to \$125,000. Also, the number of proposed reservations was dropped from five to three. The restrictions which cutbacks placed upon Beale were never experienced by him, however. Before final action could be taken by Congress, Beale was removed and replaced in the California superintendency by Thomas Jefferson Henley, a Democratic partisan thoroughly experienced in business as well as in political circles.⁵⁶

Virtually the same political factions that opposed the work of McKee, Barbour, and Wozencraft, were behind Beale's dismissal. Although his status in Indian Affairs was officially ended by these opponents, Beale's influence in California was not at an end. Investigations conducted by his successor, Henley, the Department of Indian Affairs in Washington, and the government fiscal agent, J. Ross Browne, ultimately showed Beale's financial records to have been satisfactory.⁵⁷ The good which was accomplished at the Tejon Reservation served to justify Beale in the eyes of those Californians who considered him a great benefactor of the Indian.

During an uprising of 1856 known as the Kern River War, California's governor again turned to Beale for assistance. Called from his residence on privately-owned land at Tejon, Beale was made a Brigadier General with full authority to end hostilities either by force or negotiation.⁵⁸ Supported by militia troops from Fort Tejon, Beale called together councils of various tribes until the Indians peaceably agreed to return to their camps.

The Tejon Reservation remained intact for a decade after Beale's dismissal.⁵⁹ Originally surveyed to contain about 75,000 acres, the Secretary of the Interior ordered its reduction to 25,000 acres after 1855. As boundaries of the reduced reservation were never resurveyed, ex-Superintendent Beale, and various associates, were permitted to obtain patents under old Spanish grants for most of the land covered by the original reserve. Government measures to remove the dwindling Indian population and to abandon Tejon were completed in 1864 when the last tribesmen were sent northward to a reservation at the Tule River. The way was clear for Beale to develop the land he cherished into the great cattle and sheep ranch which he privately maintained in subsequent years.

The role played by California in the tragic history of America's Indian policy cannot be under-estimated. The Indian problem

remained an enigma for several generations. In rejecting the treaties negotiated by the three commissioners, and by dismissing an enlightened Indian superintendent, the federal government followed a policy of extermination rather than one of domestication. In its treatment of the American Indian a nation founded upon the ideal that all men possess certain inalienable rights, failed to recognize those of its original inhabitants. Reform moved slowly, and basic attitudes, however unjust, could only be altered gradually.

Wozencraft, McKee, and Barbour, in negotiating their eighteen treaties, acted under orders of the federal government to construct a peace between the Indians and white citizens of California. The odds against the commissioners' success were great, if not insurmountable. Yet, Adam Johnston, their predecessor in California Indian Affairs once wrote: "The integrity of these Commissioners could not be questioned. Nevertheless, like most Easterners, they misunderstood the situation in California and tried to impose a conciliatory policy upon the whites."⁶⁰

The later demands made by Beale on behalf of the Indians were not nearly so disruptive as those of the commissioners. Beale, until his dismissal, was careful to proceed only after he had obtained governmental backing and appropriations. The scale of Beale's work was small but effective, while that of the commissioners was vast but never given a real chance for survival.

Millions of dollars and hundreds of human lives were spent by the government in the later nineteenth century to quell Indian uprisings. A few years after the events described herein, the costly Modoc War would point up the dangers of a flimsy Indian policy. Had the eighteen treaties been ratified by the Senate, their total area would have included much land extremely productive in mineral and agricultural wealth, but further revision through negotiations between the tribes and government was always possible. The effect of these treaties in providing for Indian welfare and education, changing popular attitudes toward the natives at so early a date, cannot be easily dismissed.

Beale's desire to develop experimental Indian farms showed his concern for a working policy that would prove realistic in handling large masses of untutored Indians. Beale later served California as federal surveyor-General of California and, upon retirement, as Minister of the United States to Austria-Hungary. But he is perhaps best remembered for his experiments at Tejon. Like his fellow commissioners, Beale was, in part, a victim of political obstructionism in Washington. Subject to a "change of guard" every four years, the Office of Indian Affairs in Washington had little

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stability or continuity. Authority still remained unclearly delegated between the Department of the Interior and the Department of War. Furthermore, the State of California, almost a self-governing dominion during its first fifty years, was able to impose its own parochial attitudes upon the federal government. Mid-nineteenth century America, rejecting more enlightened measures, was to pursue a temporizing policy toward the Indian of which few today are proud.

NOTES

1. Appendix to the *Congressional Globe*, 32d Congress, 1st Session, p. 10.
2. Helen Hunt Jackson, *A Century of Dishonor* (New York, 1881), p. 338.
3. Annie R. Mitchell, *Jim Savage and the Tulereno Indians* (Los Angeles, 1957), p. 45.
4. A. P. Nasatir, "A French Pessimist in California," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XXXI (December, 1952), 309-310.
5. *Los Angeles Star*, April 2, 1853, quoted in John W. Caughey, (ed.), *The Indians in Southern California in 1852* (San Marino, 1952), pp. 94-95.
6. John G. Marvin, Scrapbook I. One of two scrapbooks maintained by Marvin between 1842-1852, hereinafter cited as Marvin Scrapbook I, or II. An early Superintendent of public instruction in California, Marvin was also a judge, an acquaintance of James Savage, and editor of the *Sonora Herald*. News clippings compiled by Marvin reflect the ferment of California society in the early 'fifties as reported in the *Alta California*, the *Placer Times and Transcript*, the *California Democrat*, and the *Sonora Herald*. At the present time the Marvin Scrapbooks are owned by Professor David Ferris of Occidental College.
7. Charles B. Leonard, *Federal Indian Policy in the San Joaquin Valley, Its Application and Results* (Berkeley, 1928), pp. 147-148.
8. Edward Everett Dale, *The Indians of the Southwest* (San Marino, 1949), p. 29. Dale's book presents a comprehensive picture of Indian Affairs in California during the 1850's. Wozencraft arrived in San Francisco on December 27, 1850; McKee on December 29; and Barbour on January 8, 1851. Several chapters of Averam B. Bender's *The March of Empire* (Lawrence, Kansas, 1952), treat on California's Indian Affairs, 1848-1860.
9. Leonard, pp. 164n-165n.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 119. The text of the commissioners' address is found in Marvin Scrapbook, I.
11. Mitchell, p. 49.
12. Carvel Collins, (ed.), *Sam Ward in the Gold Rush* (Stanford, 1949), p. 54n.
13. Quoted in Leonard, p. 134.
14. For text of treaty of April 29, 1851, see Mitchell, *Appendix B, Exhibit IV*, pp. 102-107.
15. Leonard, p. 157.
16. Raymond F. Wood, *California's Agua Fria: The Early History of Mariposa County* (Fresno, 1954), p. 58. It was while on his way to meet with Wozencraft and tribes at the King's River, August 20, 1851, that James Savage, self-styled "King of the Tulare Indians," was shot to death in a personal feud.
17. Marvin Scrapbook, II.
18. *Ibid.*
19. This permanent military camp was begun in the spring of 1851 on the south bank of the San Joaquin River. It was named Camp Barbour in honor of Commissioner George W. Barbour, who, with Wozencraft and McKee, concluded a significant treaty at the site on April 29, 1851. On the recommendation of Adam Johnston, Fort Miller was established here and remained the only army post in the San Joaquin Valley prior to the establishment of Fort Tejon, August, 1854. Helen S. Giffen, "Fort Miller and Millerton," *Historical Society of Southern California, QUARTERLY*, Volume XXI, No. 1, (March, 1939), 7-8. See Alban W. Hoopes, "The Journal of George W. Barbour," May 1 to October 4, 1851, *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 40, July-April, 1936-1937.

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20. Leonard, p. 179. This agreement of June 10, 1851 is included in Charles C. Royce's exhaustive *Indian Land Cessions in the United States*, I-II, Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, House Document No. 736, 56th Congress, 1st Session, 1896-1897, no page reference.
21. *Senate Executive Document, No. 4*, 33d Congress, Special Session, pp. 253-254, see Leonard, p. 175.
22. Marvin Scrapbook, II.
23. In a letter to his military escort, May 21, 1851, Barbour, after observing the white miners, wrote that "No warning to them to desist from selling liquor to the Indians has any effect on them and few were among them who did not itch to have a hundred or so Indians washing gold for them." Quoted in Leonard, p. 177n.
24. A brief discussion of the eighteen treaties is given by Caughey, (ed.), p. XXV, and Collins, (ed.), p. 51n.
25. Marvin Scrapbook, II.
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.* Whether or not the *Times* referred to some specific iniquity may only be surmised. Evidence indicates that an Indian Ring was flourishing in California but any connection with supply contracts of the three commissioners remains unproven. See note 41.
28. Marvin Scrapbook, I. California's first Governor, Peter H. Burnett, resigned January 8, 1851, in favor of a career in private affairs. His successor, Lt. Gov. John McDougal, after governing a few months, also resigned, being succeeded by John Bigler.
29. Marvin Scrapbook, II.
30. *Ibid.*
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Ibid.*
33. Mitchell, pp. 63-65.
34. William H. Ellison, "The Federal Indian Policy in California," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, IX (June, 1922), 57-58.
35. *Appendix to the Congressional Globe*, 32d Congress, 1st Session, November 27, 1851, p. 1082. That this official report was re-published in a California newspaper and collected in the scrapbooks of John G. Marvin indicates the widespread attention focused upon it.
36. A letter of January 30, 1852, was sent by Beale to John M. Clayton, Secretary of State under Zachary Taylor, asking for a personal endorsement of his character and integrity in being considered for the California Indian Post. The only opposition to Beale's appointment arose over his alleged support of John C. Frémont's \$138,825 claim against the government that had resulted from the beef contract negotiated with Barbour. A letter from Frémont denying Beale's involvement in the controversial claim promoted immediate confirmation as Indian Superintendent. See the *Alta California*, May 15, 1852. See also House Reports, No. 289, 33d Congress 1st Session, Vol. IV, 7 pp.
37. Charles J. Kappler, (ed.), *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, IV (Washington, 1929), p. 1089n. In addition to the text of all eighteen treaties (pp. 1081-1133) Kappler's invaluable compilation contains the Report of E. F. Beale, The Message of the President Communicating them to Congress, and the action taken by the Senate. Final action upon the treaties was in a secret session of the Senate and a ban of secrecy was placed upon them that was not lifted until January 19, 1905, under order of the Senate in executive session. Having been classed confidential the treaties were not included among Congressional documents, but were published separately under the title *Message of the President of the United States Communicating Eighteen Treaties made with Indians in California* (Washington, 1905). For a concise subsequent history of the treaties see Mitchell, *Appendix B, Exhibit V*, pp. 107-110.
38. Ellison, "The Federal Indian Policy in California," p. 59.
39. Joseph Ellison, *California and the Nation, 1850-1869* (Berkeley, 1927), p. 89.
40. *Ibid.*, pp. 93-95.
41. In 1853 Superintendent Beale "presented evidence that one of the three treaty-making Commissioners had been involved in a dishonest contract for 2,500 head of cattle, and that one contractor had taken for himself a third to a half of the cattle due the Indians." See Collins, (ed.), p. 54n.
42. Stephen Bonsal, *Edward Fitzgerald Beale, A Pioneer in Path of Empire, 1822-1893* (New York, 1912), pp. 179-181.

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43. See the journal maintained during this overland trip, April to September, 1853. Gwin Harris Heap, *Central Route to the Pacific* (London, 1854). Bonsal's much quoted biography of Beale has drawn extensively from this journal.
44. Bonsal, pp. 167-169.
45. Caughey, (ed.), *The Indians of Southern California in 1852*, is a recent edition of the B. D. Wilson report placed in its historic context with reflections from local newspapers. For Wilson's account of his resignation because of lack of harmony with Beale see Arthur Woodward, "Benjamin Davis Wilson's Observations on Early Days in California and New Mexico," *Historical Society of Southern California*, ANNUAL, Volume XVI, Part I (1934), 126.
46. Quoted in Caughey, (ed.), pp. 106-108.
47. Leonard, p. 283.
48. Helen S. Giffen, *The Story of El Tejon* (Los Angeles, 1942), pp. 21-23.
49. Beale either overlooked or failed to report the existence of a dwelling that had been erected at Tejon Pass in 1850 by E. D. French, M.D., who, like Beale, had fought with Kearny at San Pascual and remained in the west. See Helen S. Giffen, *The Story of El Tejon* (Los Angeles, 1942), p. 11. Also informative is William Henry Ellison, *A Self-Governing Dominion, California, 1849-1860* (Berkeley, 1950), especially chapter five entitled "Who Owns the Land?"
50. Giffen, *The Story of El Tejon*, p. 36.
51. Marvin Scrapbook, II.
52. Kappler, (ed.), IV., pp. 1101-1103.
53. Quoted in Leonard, p. 282, no further reference.
54. Giffen, pp. 29-30.
55. Bonsal, p. 172.
56. A native of Indiana, T. J. Henley became active in Democratic politics at an early date, being elected to the legislature several times and to Congress for three successive terms. Leaving Indiana for California during the gold rush of 1849, Henley became a partner in the banking firm of Henley, Latham & Hastings. Prior to accepting the Indian Superintendency in June, 1854, Henley served as Postmaster of San Francisco. Originally enthusiastic about the appointment of Henley, the *Alta California* of July 6, 1855, charged him with devoting excessive time and attention to "political objects, and lobbying about Sacramento . . . while his reservations have been left to the care of irresponsible agents."
57. The San Francisco *Daily Herald*, October 16, 1854, expressed his faith that "Mr. Beale goes to Washington with such proofs of the fidelity of his stewardship as will exact from the Government an acknowledgement that he was removed without cause." Months later, after investigation and further study of Beale's case, the Treasury Department announced complete vindication of the former Indian Superintendent. The day following this announcement, April 21, 1855, Beale, according to the *Washington Evening Star*, "inflicted a severe castigation with his fists" upon Commissioner of Indian Affairs George W. Manypenny whose personal hostility had hindered Beale's attempt to clear his name. Manypenny's account of the incident which occurred in front of the Willard Hotel is given in the *National Intelligencer*, May 23, 1855.
58. Following his dismissal from the Indian Office, Beale and a partner Samuel A. Bishop, became owners of several hundred thousand acres of Kern County land surrounding Fort Tejon. This vast territory, later the basis for Beale's Tejon Ranch, was given them as payment for their work in surveying the Butterfield Route through that section of California. After Bishop disposed of his share, Col. R. S. Baker became a partner of Beale, providing the name of Bakersfield for the town that was part of the great ranch holdings. At a later date Baker sold out to Beale and purchased the San Vicente Ranch in the southland. See Harris Newmark, *Sixty Years in Southern California, 1853-1913*, edited by Maurice H. and Marco R. Newmark, 1930, p. 143.
59. During the decade from 1854 until becoming a part of E. F. Beale's ranch when abandoned by the Army in 1864, Fort Tejon was the center of military, social, and political activities between Fort Miller and Los Angeles. Over twenty buildings existed at this site. In 1858 a Butterfield Overland Mail station was established there on the line which extended from St. Louis to San Francisco. A site of continued historic interest, Fort Tejon is presently a State Historical Monument that is being restored on its original site near the famous grapevine route leading from Los Angeles to Bakersfield. Jointly sharing in this restoration are the State Division of Beaches and Parks and the Kern County Historical Society. See also

Clarence Cullimore, *Old Adobes of Forgotten Fort Tejon* (Bakersfield, 1941), and Helen S. Giffen and Arthur Woodward, *The Story of El Tejon* (Los Angeles, 1942). William F. Edgar, "Historical Notes of Old Land Marks in California," *Historical Society of Southern California*, ANNUAL, Volume III (1893), 22-30, briefly describes the older Fort Tejon. Since Beale's death in 1893, the Tejon Ranch, comprising 280,000 acres, has been sold to owners outside the Beale family who have erected one of the nation's largest cattle, oil, and agricultural corporations. See Grace Bradley, "Tejon Ranch Storehouse of Farm, Mineral Wealth," *The Bakersfield Californian*, June, 1957, p. 24. See also Earle Crowe, *Men of El Tejon* (Los Angeles, 1957).



A Pueblo de Los Angeles Memoir . . .

ALVARADO HEIGHTS...ALVARADO STREET

By Adolfo Gerardo Rivera

Through the Courtesy of LUCY RIVERA MALIN

Early in 1865, when Los Angeles was still a pueblo in population, though not in name, Pancho Alvarado married one of Santa Ana's beautiful señoritas. His father obtained for him, as a wedding gift, a grant of several acres of land in what is today known as Alvarado Heights, including Westlake Park. In the due course of time, a small house, a barn and corrals were erected. A number of horses, cows and sheep were given to Pancho to start him on his journey through life.

During the first six months he lived in sweet companionship, happy and contented apparently; but Pancho strummed his *guitar y gorjeaba un jilguero* (sang like a bird) *y bailaba sus "pollitas" y "camotes,"* (and danced California dances). He was young and also something of a Lothario. He longed for the companionship of his boyhood friends and the *serenatas* (serenades) of yore, the *bailes* in the pueblo.

Pancho was a "city bred" youth. It was not long before he began his nocturnal visits into his beloved Los Angeles. Life in the country was irksome. As the months rolled by, his visits increased until he began to lose interest in his family and the *ranchito* that was so far away from his early haunts and pleasures.

One day, Señora Alvarado called him to task and in his endeavor to please her, he decided to return at once into the fair city of his boyhood days — with wife, cattle, horses, sheep, dogs, and all — forever abandoning his *ranchito* in "Alvarado Heights," because it was "*muy lejos del pueblo*" (too distant from the pueblo).

Years after, a subdivider came along — the land on the hills surrounding Westlake Park was called "Alvarado Heights" and the main thoroughfare was named "Alvarado Street."

Military Posts of the Old Frontier *Arizona -- New Mexico*

By Frank A. Schilling



WHEN THE UNITED STATES, by virtue of the *Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo*, and the Gadsden Purchase, assumed control of the area comprising the present southwestern portion of the United States, it assumed the responsibility, under the terms of the treaty, of protecting the inhabitants of both nations, the United States and Old Mexico, against marauding and murderous Indians inhabiting that area. The Apaches and Navahos had been at war with Spain and Mexico for centuries, and could not understand why the United States would not permit them to continue their warfare against Mexico on both sides of the international boundary.

The annals of the colonization of Mexico are replete with accounts of the mistreating and enslaving of the Indians of that country, (despite warnings of the Spanish Crown and the laws of Spain, as well the pleadings of the Pope of Rome, that the Indians were human and had a soul) and the Indians retaliated in their own way — by pillage; by kidnap; by torture; by murder.

To fulfill the covenants of the treaty, insofar as the Indians were concerned, it became necessary to establish military posts, garrisoned with troops. The first military post was established at Santa Fe in 1846, when that city was occupied by American troops, and it was named Fort Marcy in honor of the then Secretary of

AUTHOR'S NOTE: The various dates on which the New Mexico and Arizona posts were established or abandoned, as well as the dates on which names were changed, were obtained from microfilms of old army records on file in the vaults of the National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D.C. Photostatic copies of old military maps of the area under study, which were furnished by the National Archives, were of inestimable assistance in locating the old posts on modern maps. Much care and a great deal of checking was done, and barring the human element, it is believed the data is accurate and dependable. For this, we wish to credit the National Archives and to extend our thanks.

War, the Hon. W. L. Marcy, and not Capt. Randolph B. Marcy, Kearny's Regimental Quartermaster, under whose direction the post was constructed. Marcy was abandoned on September 15, 1894.

Due to evil influences which existed in Santa Fe when he arrived in that city on July 19, 1851, Col. E. V. Sumner decided "to break up the post at Santa Fe, that sink of vice and extravagance, and to remove the troops and the public property to Fort Union" — which was established on the Mora Grant, east of Santa Fe, on July 26, 1851. Fort Union was an important supply depot, providing military escort for wagon trains on the Santa Fe Trail, as well as protection for the early settlers.

It was the purpose of Gen. H. H. Sibley's troops when they invaded the Rio Grande Valley during the spring of 1861 to capture Fort Union with its large store of military materiel; continue their invasion westward, eventually over-running California and seizing her gold mines to finance the rebellion and gain West Coast seaports, but the debacle at Apache Canyon and Pigeon's Ranch at the hands of troops from Fort Union and the Colorado Volunteers effectively upset whatever plans Sibley may have had. The rebels were eventually driven back to Texas, in utter confusion and in a starving condition, half of them either killed, captured or wounded. Confederate troops never again invaded New Mexico. Fort Union served the nation well for many years and was broken up in 1891, fifty years after its founding. It is now being restored as a National Monument, and its broken walls are being mended.

During the ensuing years, from 1851 to 1859, Forts Conrad, Fillmore, Los Lunas, Thorn and Craig, along the Rio Grande; Stanton on the Rio Bonito in Lincoln County, New Mexico; Defiance in northeastern Arizona, and Forts Buchanan and Arivaipa (later Breckenridge) in southern Arizona, and Fort Mohave on the Rio Colorado near the Needles, were established. Not mentioned are several smaller and more or less temporary posts, among them Fort Webster near the Copper Mines in the Silver City district, established in 1853, for protection against the Apaches of the Ojo Caliente country, but abandoned the following year, not having accomplished its purpose.

Fort Fillmore of tragic memory, named in honor of President Millard Fillmore, was established on September 23, 1851, by Col. E. V. Sumner, at Bracitos, forty miles north of El Paso, on the site where Col. Alexander William Doniphan, defeated the Mexican Army on December 24, 1846. When Confederate troops of Col. John R. Baylor, CSA, invaded the valley of the Rio Grande during the latter part of July, 1861, the post, garrisoned by nearly 700

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well-equipped and trained troops, was abjectly abandoned by its Commanding Officer, Major Isaac Lynde, during the night of July 26, 1861, when Lynde and his inebriated troops began their fateful march across the shimmering desert sands to the Organ Mountains, on their way to Fort Stanton, over one hundred fifty miles distant. Many of his troops fell by the wayside clamoring for water to replace the whiskey in their canteens; the remainder were captured in San Agustin Pass. For his cowardly act, Lynde was dropped from the army on November 25, 1861; restored as Major, 18th Infantry, November 27, 1866, to date July 28, 1866, and was retired effective same date, on order of President Andrew Johnson. He died on April 10, 1886, never having again worn the uniform of an officer of the United States Army. Except for the period from August 11, 1862, to November 13, of the same year, Fort Fillmore was never again used as a military post of the United States. Its walls have since returned to Mother Earth, whence they came, and are covered with native vegetation to hide their shame.

Fort Craig was established on the west bank of the Rio Grande, near Valverde, by Co. K, 2nd Dragoons, and Co. I, 3rd Infantry, on March 31, 1854, when Fort Conrad, eight miles to the north was abandoned. Fort Craig was named in honor of Lt. Col. Louis S. Craig, who had distinguished himself during the Mexican campaign at Monterey, Contreras and Churubusco, in Mexico, and was killed by deserters on June 6, 1852.

An interesting feature of this post was the solitary cells, where prisoners were kept in solitary confinement. There were six, each cell five feet seven inches long, two feet ten inches wide and four feet ten inches high, three on each side of a narrow passageway. Around the doors were eight augur holes, and chinks around the doors were the only means of ventilation or light from the passageway. The entire amount was about a square foot for light and ventilation. The men slept on a single blanket laid on the damp earthen floor, which was frequently sprinkled to lay the dust. Sickness was frequent among the prisoners and, unless removed at once to the hospital, the sick were difficult to treat.

Troops from Fort Craig met Confederate troops in combat at Valverde on February 21, 1862, in a spectacular and dramatic engagement in which three Union Officers, Capt. Benjamin Wingate; Capt. Alexander McRae; Capt. George N. Bascom, and thirty-six enlisted men lost their lives. The Union forces retired to Fort Craig after the battle and the Confederates advanced to the north, capturing Albuquerque and Santa Fe, only to be decisively defeated in the battle at Apache Canyon. Through an error, Fort Craig was built

on private instead of public land, and the War Department was compelled to pay rental on the land for many years. It was abandoned on September 19, 1884.

Fort Buchanan was established in 1856, and it is claimed by some sources that Fort Arivaipa, later Breckenridge, was established during the same year, on the San Pedro River at its junction with the Arivaipa; other sources claim it was established during the year 1860. Both posts were abandoned and the garrisons removed to the Rio Grande at the outbreak of the Civil War during 1861.

When Confederate troops commanded by Captain S. Hunter invaded southern Arizona, they occupied old Fort Buchanan shortly after it was abandoned by Union troops and when the California Column advanced eastward compelling them to retire to the Rio Grande they destroyed the post buildings which were never rebuilt.

Fort Breckenridge, destroyed when abandoned by Union troops, was rebuilt by elements of the California Column, and named Fort Stanford in honor of Governor Stanford of California. It later became the well known Camp Grant, noted for the infamous Camp Grant massacre of April 30, 1871, when a band of 146 white men, Mexicans and Indians from Tucson, and led by W. S. Oury and Jesus M. Elias surprised the camp at dawn of April 30, while the able-bodied men were on a hunting expedition, and murdered 108 unarmed and helpless Apache women, children and old men. The raid was in retaliation for the killing of some white men near Tucson by Apaches whom it was thought belonged to Eskiminzin's band encamped near Camp Grant. The identity of the Apaches who did the killing has never been positively established, and the men involved in the raid on the camp were released, after having been arrested and tried in court in Tucson.

The site of Old Camp Grant was so malarious and unhealthy that the post was moved on December 19, 1872, to a site some sixty miles to the south at the westerly base of Mount Graham, and it became an important post during the succeeding Apache campaigns. It was abandoned on October 4, 1907, and is now used as a corrective school for delinquent boys. Only two of the original buildings remain, the old stone warehouse and one of the officers' barracks, and they are in excellent repair. The old parade ground now the site of a swimming pool, and additional buildings are added from time to time to accommodate more boys.

On May 18, 1859, Camp Colorado was established on the east bank of the Colorado River, north of the Needles, by Col. William Hoffman, 8th United States Infantry, at a point where Lieut. Edward F. Beale's camel caravan crossed the river on October 17,

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1857. The name of the post was later changed to Fort Mohave. It was abandoned May 28, 1861, on account of the civil War, but was reactivated on April 16, 1863, and garrisoned by Cos. B and I, 4th California Volunteers. It was finally abandoned on May 23, 1890.

Invading Confederate troops, Co. A, 7th Texas Volunteers, under the command of Captain S. Hunter occupied Tucson on February 12, 1862, and unfurled the Stars and Bars. There was no opposition and it was Hunter's instructions to proceed to California and open a line of communications between that state and Texas, in order to obtain gold so sorely needed by the South.

However, the California Volunteers, commanded by Gen. James H. Carleton, were moving eastward and the advance column of his troops moved into Tucson on the morning of May 20, 1862. The Post of Tucson was created by General Orders No. 11, Headquarters, Column from California. Hunter's rear guard retreated southward on its way to the Rio Grande, but not until the only battle of the Civil War in Arizona was fought at Picacho Pass between twelve California troops under Lieut. James Barrett, and sixteen Confederates under Lieut. Jack Swilling. Lieut. Barrett, Pvt. George Johnson and Pvt. W. S. Leonard of the First California Volunteers were killed. Two rebels were wounded and three were captured. The battle was fought on April 15, 1862, and its site near Picacho Peak has been marked with a monument by the *Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society* and the Southern Pacific Company.

The Post of Tucson was garrisoned by Co. A, 1st California Cavalry, Co. G, 1st California Infantry, and Cos. A and E, 5th California Infantry, and abandoned in September, 1864. The Post was re-established during July, 1865, and on August 29, 1866, was named Camp Lowell in honor of Brig. Gen. Charles R. Lowell, who died of wounds received in the battle of Cedar Creek, Va., May 21, 1862.

On March 31, 1873, Camp Lowell, which was located on a plot of ground between Twelfth and Fourteenth Streets, on the east side of Sixth Avenue of present day Tucson, was removed to a site on the Rillito, about seven miles east of Tucson, presumably because of sanitary conditions. On April 5, 1879, the name was changed to Fort Lowell, and during March, 1891, the post was abandoned.

During the month of October, 1860, Mickey Free, a Mexican boy, who was living on a ranch in the vicinity of Fort Buchanan, was kidnapped by some Indians from the Dragon Mountains who, it was believed, belonged to a band under Cochise. Second Lieutenant George N. Bascom, recently out of West Point, and who was stationed at Fort Buchanan, was given a detail of troops and ordered

to Apache Pass, south of present day Bowie, where he was visited by Cochise who had seen his troops moving eastward and was curious as to the reason therefore. Cochise denied that his people were involved in the kidnapping. With Cochise were his wife and boy, a brother and two nephews. During the argument Cochise slashed his way out of Bascom's tent and escaped. Another of his party jumped through the opening, but was bayoneted to the ground. The others remained in the tent and were made prisoners.

Cochise withdrew to his stronghold and returned to Apache Pass with a band of his followers. In the resultant fighting, that lasted several days, several of Cochise's relatives were killed and several Americans also lost their lives. A wagon train camped nearby was attacked, and three members tied to the wagon wheels head downward and burned to death. It was later proved that Cochise and his people were not involved in the kidnapping of Mickey Free — some Pinal Apaches were guilty. Bascom's tragic action embittered Cochise, who had heretofore been friendly to the Americans, and resulted in a conflict between Red Man and White that lasted for nearly eleven years, until September, 1872, when Gen. O. O. Howard and Cochise held their peace talk. An unknown number of persons, Red and White, were killed because of the hasty action of a green shavetail.

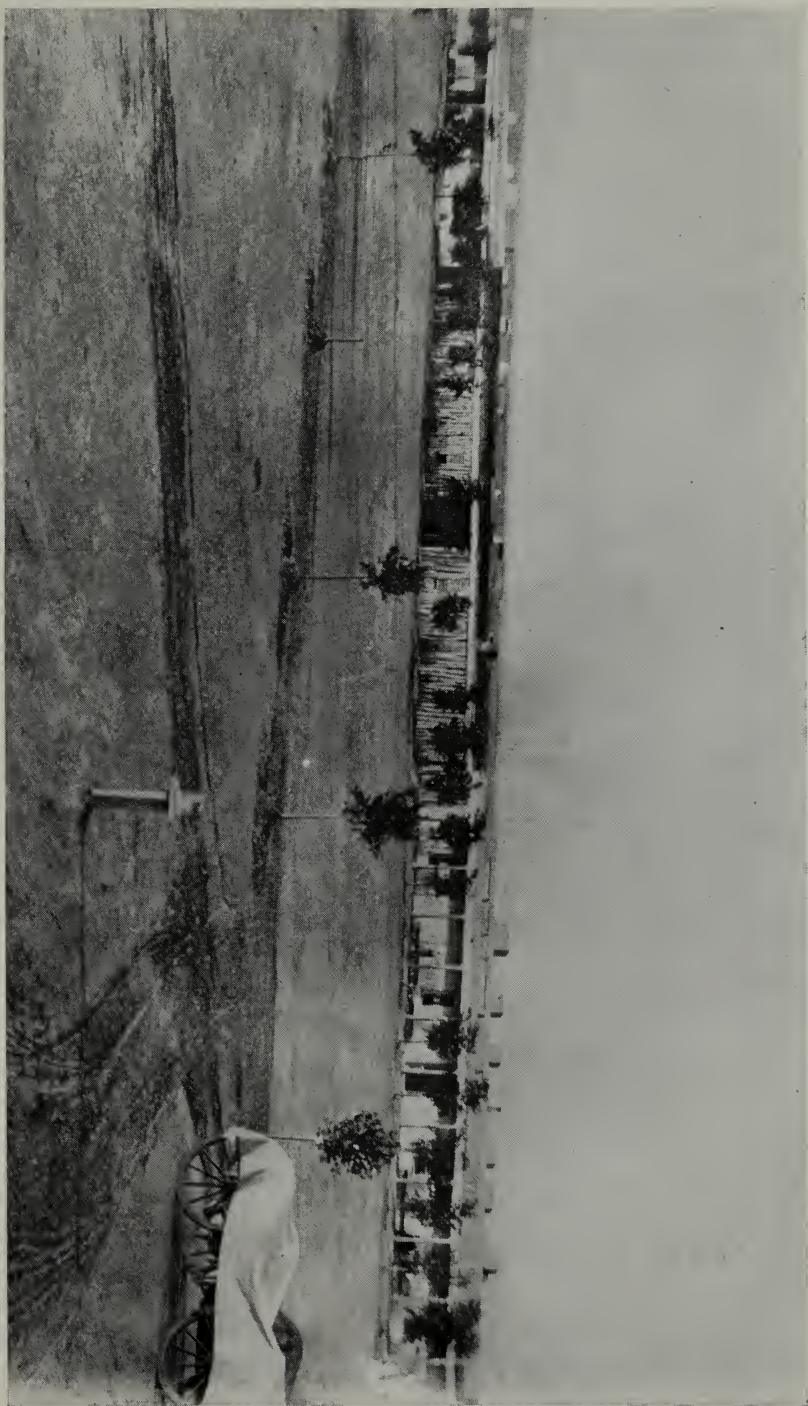
As a result of the depredations of Cochise and his band it became necessary to build a post in Apache Pass, which was named in honor of Col. George W. Bowie, of the 5th Infantry, California Volunteers, to protect the springs near the pass, and also the main route between El Paso and Tucson which wound its way through the pass. The waters of these springs were vital to man and beast passing through this desert.

On July 27, 1862, General Carleton issued orders to construct such a post and garrison it with troops of the Column, commanded by Major Coulter. Fort Bowie was abandoned on October 17, 1894.

Fort Stanton on the Rio Bonito, in Lincoln County, New Mexico, was established on May 4, 1855, to control the Mescalero Apaches in the White and Sacramento Mountains, and to prevent raids into the Pecos country by the Kiowa and Comanches. The post was named in honor of Capt. Henry W. Stanton, 1st United States Dragoons who was killed in a skirmish with the Mescaleros in the Sacramento Mountains on July 9, 1855.

Fort Stanton became untenable when the Confederates invaded New Mexico and was abandoned on August 2, 1861, nine days after the cowardly abandonment of Fort Fillmore by Major Lynde. The Mescaleros immediately resumed their raids and the post was re-

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FORT CRAIG, NEW MEXICO

View shows Parade Ground in front of soldiers' quarters

— Photo from the Author's Collection



— Photo from the Author's Collection

CAVALRY CAMP ON THE GILA RIVER
*Occupied at time of photograph (1885) by troops from
nearby Fort Thomas, Arizona*

89095

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activated during the latter part of 1862 by five companies of New Mexico Volunteers under the command of Col. Kit Carson sent there to subdue the Mescaleros. Subsequently, on April 8, 1863, the post was occupied by Federal troops; finally abandoned on August 17, 1896, and the reservation transferred to the Marine Hospital Service and accepted by them on April 27, 1899.

Navaho depredations continued in the north and the task of their subjugation was assigned to Colonel Carson after the Mescaleros were subdued. By midsummer of 1863, Colonel Carson had accomplished this task, and the Mescaleros imprisoned at the Bosque Redondo, at Fort Sumner.

On October 22, 1862, a military post was established on the Ojo del Gallo, near the village of San Rafael, southwest of the village of Grants on the southwestern base of Mount Taylor, and named Fort Wingate in honor of Capt. Benjamin Wingate, the builder of Fort Fountleroy, south of Gallup at the Ojo del Oso, and who lost his life in the battle at Valverde, New Mexico, on February 21, 1862. This post was garrisoned by Field and Staff, and companies B, C, E and F, 1st New Mexico Volunteers, commanded by Lt. Col. J. Francisco Chavez, step-son of Governor Connelly, and who was next in command under Kit Carson in the Navaho campaign.

His assignment against the Mescaleros having been completed, Carson and his men made ready against the Navahos. Los Pinos, about twenty miles south of Albuquerque, established May 27, 1862, was the mobilization headquarters for his command. On July 7, 1863, the command started for the Navaho country and arrived at Fort Defiance on July 20. A depot for supplies and hospital, known as Fort Canby in honor of Col. Edward R. S. Canby who was later killed by Modoc Indians in California on April 11, 1873, was established on the Rio Pueblo Colorado on July 23, 1863, and abandoned during August, 1864, the Navaho having been conquered within a period of some twelve months and removed to the Bosque Redondo at Fort Sumner.

As the Navaho were either captured, or surrendered, they were assembled at Fort Canby, or other posts nearby, and marched to the Bosque, four hundred miles distant — men, women, children — any human resembling a Navaho — a funeral-like procession, in two's and four's — silent; sad; dejected — all hope gone. They were stunned when they, at last, were prisoners of war in a foreign land, at Fort Sumner on the Pecos River.

Fort Sumner was established November 30, 1862, and was first garrisoned by Company A, 5th United States Infantry, under the command of Capt. Joe Updegraff, and was named in honor of Col.

Edwin Vose Sumner, who had distinguished himself in the war with Mexico, at Cerro Gordo and Molino del Rey, and commissioned Major General, United States Volunteers on July 4, 1862. Fort Sumner was abandoned on August 30, 1869, after the Mescaleros and Navahos had been returned to their homeland.

The Navahos, nearly eighty-five hundred of them, were exceedingly unhappy at the Bosque. Conditions were desperate and deplorable. They were starving and many had died — sickness had accomplished what bullets had failed to do. The land was bleak and barren; treeless; no timber with which to build their hogans — entirely different from their homeland. They did not get along with the Mescaleros, though of the same Athabascan family. Homesick and heartsick; ill; discouraged; discontented; they had lost all hope.

At long last, after an investigation by Lieutenant R. McDonald, of the 5th Cavalry, the Bosque Redondo project was abandoned, and a treaty signed with the Navaho on June 11, 1868, permitted them to go home again. It was a long hike back to their beloved country, but they were happy again and have so remained. Their's is now the most numerous tribe in the United States and they have been loyal and true to their treaty.

Fort Wingate, established on the Rio Gallo was abandoned on July 22, 1868, and men and materiel moved to another location, sixty-five miles west, and near the site of former Fort Fountleroy, changed to Fort Lyon, when Col. Thos. T. Fountleroy resigned and went south during the Civil War, the new location being in the heart of the Navaho country. Wingate was abandoned as a military post on February 4, 1911. Subsequent to 1882, the fort was frequently used as headquarters and outfitting quarters from archæological and ethnological expeditions. During 1914 the old buildings were used to house refugees from the Villa revolution in Mexico. Some time after 1925 Congress appropriated \$500,000 for a school for the Navaho on the Wingate Military reservation. The former barracks were converted into dormitories, and the old parade ground is now a ball field.

Now that the Navaho question had been resolved it was possible to concentrate on the Apaches in the south. During the following years many additional posts were established — Cummings, Selden and Bayard in New Mexico; Whipple, Goodwin, McDowell, Verde and Crittenden in Arizona before the 1870's. Of these, only Bayard remains, today not a military post, but a sanitarium for military patients.

Fort Cummings, named after Dr. Joseph Cummings, a medical

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officer who was killed by a Navaho sniper near Canyon de Chelly, was established on October 2, 1863, at the eastern end of Cooke's Canyon on the Cooke's Mountains, east of Deming, New Mexico, to protect Cooke's Springs which supplied water for man and beast travelling on the Overland Mail trail. The mountain and peak, the canyon and the spring were given the name of Capt. Philip St. George Cooke, who led the Battalion from Santa Fe, New Mexico, to California during the war with Mexico, 1846-1847. Fort Cummings was abandoned in 1870, but due to renewed Apache depredations it was reactivated during 1881 and again abandoned during 1885.

Fort Whipple was originally established as Camp Clark on Postle's Ranch, in the Chino Valley, north of Prescott, on December 23, 1863, and five months later, on May 24, 1864, was moved twenty-two miles southward to a location on Granite Creek called Del Rio, about two miles north of the chosen site for the future city of Prescott, which was intended to be the Capital City of the Territory of Arizona. Camp Clark was named in honor of John A. Clark, Surveyor General of New Mexico, one of the first officials to report on the mines in Arizona. Fort Whipple was named in honor of Brigadier General Amiel Weeks Whipple, who served in Arizona as First Lieutenant of Topographical Engineers surveying a rail route on the 35th parallel. The beautiful Yucca Whipplei, known by the Spanish speaking peoples of California as the Candle of the Lord, was named in his honor by a botanist attached to the expedition. Fort Whipple was the temporary quarters for the newly appointed governor of the Territory of Arizona, John M. Goodwin, and was the temporary capitol until the mansion and capitol buildings were completed in Prescott.

The post was discontinued on March 30, 1898, and all of the buildings have disappeared. Its name was given the hospital for Veterans near Prescott.

Fort Goodwin, named in honor of the first governor of Arizona, John M. Goodwin, was established June 21, 1864, on the southern boundary of the San Carlos Indian Reservation, somewhere within six miles of the Gila River, evidently on the banks of Goodwin Wash, but was abandoned March 14, 1871, because of its unhealthy location. During May, 1870, Companies L and M, 1st United States Calvary, were moved by the Post Commander, Maj. John Green, to the White Mountains to establish Camp Ord, which later became Fort Apache.

Camp Date Creek, some fifty miles southwest of Prescott, was established on the south bank of Date Creek as Camp McPherson,

during the year 1864 by elements of the California Column. Due to Indian depredations in Skull Valley to the north, the camp was moved to that locality during 1866 to protect the miners. During 1867 the command was returned to the former location at Date Creek, which proved to be unhealthy, resulting in another move later and the name changed to Camp Date Creek on November 23, 1868. The post was abandoned on August 30, 1873.

On November 4, 1871, a band of Apaches, members of the group then living on the Date Creek Reservation, attacked the San Francisco stage, some eight or ten miles west of Wickenburg, killing a young gentlemen named Fred Loring and five male companions. The attack and massacre was particularly brutal and fiendish and caused considerable reaction back east. General Crook investigated the matter and decided to have a pow-wow with these Indians at the Date Creek Agency at some future date. Owing to Crook's relentless warfare against this tribe, the Indians decided to kill him at this meeting, but Crook had been forewarned by a friendly Hualpai scout and appeared rather suddenly accompanied by what appeared to be packers — all armed with revolvers and knives. They were seated in a circle, the General facing the chief, and the pow-wow seemed to be friendly. At a pre-arranged signal, the rolling and lighting of a cigarette, by the chief, an Indian raised his rifle to fire, but his gun was diverted by one of the packers, and immediately pandemonium broke loose. Several Indians were killed and wounded and the balance made a hasty escape. The band was later surprised by troops led by Hualpai scouts and forty or more killed.

Camp Verde was originally established as Camp Lincoln during 1864 at a point about one mile north of the present village of Camp Verde.

On January 5, 1866, the camp was moved to its present location and garrisoned by Companies A and C, 1st Arizona Infantry, under the command of Capt. H. S. Washburn, to protect the settlers along the Verde, and as a base of operations against the Apaches east of the river. Co. A was made up of native Arizonans who were of Mexican ancestry, and Co. C was made up of Pima Indians, the traditional enemy of the Apache. The name of the post was changed to Camp Verde on November 23, 1868, and to Fort Verde on April 5, 1879. It was finally abandoned on April 25, 1891. Only three buildings remain today, two adobes that are used for dwelling purposes, and the old administration building that is being restored and converted into a museum.

Camp McDowell was established on September 7, 1865, by California Volunteers, on the west bank of the Verde River, and

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named for Gen. Irving McDowell, who had served his country with distinction in the battle of Buena Vista, Mexico, and in the battle of Cedar Mountain, Va., during the Civil War. On April 5, 1879, the post was designated Fort McDowell and it was abandoned on January 17, 1891. The reservation of 25,688 acres was turned over to the Department of the Interior for use as an Indian school.

On May 8, 1865, Fort Selden was established a mile and a half east of the Rio Grande, near the southern end of the Jornada del Muerto, and nine miles above Dona Ana, and named in honor of Col. Henry R. Selden, 1st New Mexico Volunteer Infantry. It was abandoned May 27, 1879, but was reactivated on December 25, 1880, due to proposed railroad construction. On August 23, 1890, it became a sub-post of Fort Bayard and was finally abandoned February 10, 1892.

On March 4, 1868, a military post was established on a hill about a half mile east of the site of former Fort Buchanan, and named Camp Crittenden in honor of Brevet Gen. Thomas L. Crittenden for gallant and meritorious service at the battle of Stone River, Tenn. It was abandoned January 1, 1873, when its troops were transferred to another post.

Fort Apache, in the White Mountain country, was established by Col. John Green, on May 16, 1870, and garrisoned with troops from the abandoned Camp Goodwin. It was probably the most important Military Post in Arizona, being located in the heart of Apacheland, and also having served as reservation headquarters of the White Mountain Indian Reservation. It was originally named Camp Ord, for Gen. E. O. C. Ord, Commander of the Department of California, and who will be remembered locally as having made the Ord Survey in Los Angeles. On August 1, 1870, the name was changed to Camp Mogollon; on September 12, 1870, to Camp Thomas; on February 2, 1871, to Camp Apache, and, finally, on April 5, 1879, to Fort Apache. The post was abandoned in 1922 and the buildings turned over to the Department of the Interior for Indian school purposes.

The most important fight in which troops from Fort Apache were engaged was the battle of the Cibecu, on August 30, 1881, by a detachment of the 6th United States Cavalry. Noch-ay-del-klinne, an Apache Medicine Man, had aroused his people by promises that the dead would return to life if the white man were evicted from the Indian's country. He and his followers were gathered at the Cibecu, apparently looking for trouble. On August 23, 1881, General Carr, in command at Fort Apache, received official orders to "arrest Noch-ay-del-kline or kill, or both" and in the ensuing

battle, the medicine man and an unknown number of Apaches were killed, as were Captain Hentig and seven troops. It was expected the Indians would attack Fort Apache also, and after the battle the troops hastily returned to Apache. Two days later, on September 1, the post was vigorously attacked by the Apaches, who were repulsed with no losses to the soldiers.

Camp San Carlos was established during 1873 and served as a military post, as well as reservation headquarters for the San Carlos Indian Reservation until 1900. It was known as "Hell's Forty Acres," and Indians of many clans were assembled there which resulted in much friction and fighting. Vegetation was scant, and temperature extremely high. During the late 1920's a dam was built across the Gila River, and the resultant lake has completely inundated old Camp San Carlos and its buildings. San Carlos was the home station of Al Sieber, the famed chief of Apache scouts, who lost his life at the Roosevelt Dam in 1907 when he attempted to save several Indians from a moving boulder.

Some thirty miles upstream on the Gila, Fort Thomas was established in August 12, 1876, and named in honor of Gen. George H. Thomas, who distinguished himself in the Florida Indian wars and in the battles of Monterey and Buena Vista, both in old Mexico, and who was tendered the thanks of Congress by resolution on March 3, 1865, for his "skill and dauntless courage, by which the rebel army under Wood was signally defeated and driven from the State of Tennessee." Fort Thomas also played an important role in the subjugation of the Apache, and was abandoned on December 3, 1892. Nothing remains of the old post, except some piles of adobe, and its name had been assumed by the old town of Maxie, which was just east of the post, and which was an important rendezvous for thirsty and lonely soldiers during the Indian campaigns.

General Cruse, in *Apache Days and After*, says that "the only building that even remotely resembled a habitation for civilized humans was the post trader's. This had adobe walls nicely plastered. The trader's was a long room, perhaps thirty feet by fifteen feet, partitioned into a big bar room for the men, and a smaller one for the officers and transient visitors. It was encircled by a broad veranda. All had been made as attractive as possible. The trader was there for money and he knew that, if the men had it, they would naturally come where it was pleasant and restful to spend it. If they did not buy liquor, they would buy something else." Cruse further says that "thirteen dollars (the soldier's monthly wage) would not buy much beer at one dollar a bottle for Anheuser-Busch, the current price at Thomas and Apache."

Military Posts of the Old Frontier

Camp Huachuca, located in the Huachuca Mountains, on a site selected by Capt. Samuel Marmaduke Whiteside, was established on March 3, 1877, as a temporary camp in consequence of some Indian raids during the preceding year, as reported by General Kautz, "but circumstances prolonged its life. In 1882 it was designated a permanent post. Many of the original buildings of the 1880's are still in use as officers' quarters and the old adobe barracks on the opposite side of the parade ground now house the Electronic Warfare Department. Over the hill is the old post cemetery with its white granite or marble markers — row upon row in serried ranks they stand, marking the final resting places of many lads who made the supreme sacrifice that the old southwest be a better place in which to live.

Assistant Army Surgeon Leonard Wood, later Chief-of-Staff of the Army and Governor General of the Philippines, began his brilliant army career at Huachuca Post Hospital, and the old building in which he labored is now occupied by the Comptroller and Finance Departments.

During the Pancho Villa insurrection in Mexico, troops from Fort Huachuca, were dispatched to the field. During World War 1 Huachuca went through its second large building program, and it was rather ironic that it should outlast many older and more historic posts established during the Territorial days.

After the bombing at Pearl Harbor, it was host to thousands of boys in uniform and hundreds of buildings were constructed to meet the demand. Then came VJ day and in 1947 it was declared surplus. Many buildings were sold and moved away. But before the post was completely demolished came the Korean War during 1951 and it served as a training ground for Aviation Engineers. After the boys were sent overseas Huachuca again became inactive — the cavalry was no more and the cry, "Geronimo," became the jump word for paratroopers. It was again closed during May, 1953.

Lastly came the cold war from behind the Iron Curtain, and in February, 1954, Huachuca was selected as the site of the U.S. Army Electronic Proving Ground. Today Fort Huachuca is again doing its bit in the electronic warfare against world communism. Quarters for thousands of officers and enlisted men are being constructed at Huachuca and, side-by-side with the old primitive adobes, are doing their part in the world-wide struggle with the red monster. From an old primitive, temporary cavalry post on the early frontier it has risen to be a post of world-wide military importance.

Some fifty or sixty major military posts and camps were established during the forty year period, from 1850 to 1890, in New

Mexico and Arizona, not including minor or temporary camps. None was fortified; they were not true forts in a military sense and had no heavy artillery; a very few had stockades, and the stockades were usually of posts or trees such as the country afforded. The buildings were constructed of whatever material was available, and in most cases were constructed by the troops.

In some instances the old records have disappeared, never to be found again. The early history of Fort Apache is clouded, as is the early history of Old Fort Grant. Perhaps destroyed by fire or flood — perhaps the Indian's arrow was instrumental in destroying the early records, *quien sabe*. Most of the posts have returned to Mother Earth and her dust, whence they came. Their former occupants, whether commissioned officer or private, for the most part have returned to dust and can tell us nothing, except for a few diaries or books which they left. If these mounds of earth could speak, what tales might they not tell; deeds of heroism and privation; loneliness and depression; suffering and death — many above and beyond the call of duty, that we, their followers, might live in peace and contentment. By such men the West was conquered.

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The Great Debate in California: 1859

By Donald E. Hargis

HE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES is replete with examples of memorable and dramatic debates between candidates for public office or between those who have espoused signal political or social philosophies. Certain of these clashes have had broad and far-reaching significance for the larger politics and culture through the promulgation of vital philosophies and the promotion of individual causes; yet other more parochial encounters, although limited in influence, still have had wider implications than might appear at first glance. Some of these debates have been direct, face-to-face meetings, while others were "long-range," the participants never actually meeting, but debating each other's ideas and personalities as interpreted from printed reports. In any case, such debates have provided forums for the exposition of conflicting philosophies and the revelation of personality so essential to the functioning of a democracy.

Undoubtedly the most famous of these debates was the clash between Lincoln and Douglas in Illinois in 1858. Starting as a series of "long-range" discussions which led eventually to a sequence of face-to-face debates, Lincoln and Douglas contended over fundamental concepts in the large political-social struggle occurring in the United States but in addition disclosed their personalities to public examination. One cannot discount the significance of these debates on the course of history through the exposition of certain social-political doctrine and more particularly by bringing Lincoln to national prominence. Just a year later, in 1859, a series of debates took place in California, in this instance "long-range" encounters with the principals never meeting face-to-face. While these debates lacked the national stature of a Lincoln or a Douglas, while the issues held limited general political significance, and while the out-

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come had relatively small impact on national life, yet they were important to the course of political events in California and to the personal fortunes of the participants. These were the debates between William McKendree Gwin and David Colbrith Broderick in California in July and August, 1859.

I.

Gwin and Broderick were the dominant political rivals in California from 1850 until Broderick's death in September, 1859. All other clashes of personality, ambition, and political action and philosophy in this period in the state were overshadowed by those between these two men. Gwin as United States Senator held the power of the federal political patronage and the control of the enactment of federal legislation for the development of California. Broderick, on the other hand, more or less controlled the local party organization and, hence, the state patronage. During the nine year period, first one and then the other would be in the ascendancy in the Democratic party in California. Broderick achieved his political ambition in 1857 when he was elected a United States Senator in a "deal" which forced Gwin to yield his interests to those of Broderick in order to secure his own, Gwin's, re-election to the Senate. In Washington the feud between the two men continued as Broderick broke with the Buchanan administration, while Gwin consistently supported the party and the administration. This led to a split in the Democratic party in California with Broderick heading the anti-administration wing and Gwin the "regular" one.¹ In the summer of 1859 neither man was running for office, but each returned to California to aid his branch of the party in the state election, and this led to their "great debate."

In July Broderick, although he had never before campaigned on the stump, determined to take his case to the electorate. Undoubtedly, he was motivated primarily by the desire to elect his slate of anti-administration candidates to Congress and to state offices; but certainly he wished, as well, to improve his own political position and to embarrass Gwin in any way that he could. Whether or not Gwin had planned to stump the state, he shortly could not withstand Broderick's goading; and he sat out on the campaign trail himself. Broderick wanted to meet Gwin face-to-face, and in his first speech issued such a challenge to Gwin. In each subsequent speech he referred to this challenge and ridiculed Gwin for his failure to accept it. Gwin immediately recognized the demand for a face-to-face meeting; but, seeming to agree, deftly parried it with oblique references and petty objections, in the course of which he

made strong personal attacks upon Broderick. The challenge itself became one of the issues in the debates and led to acrimonious and personal charge and counter charge which, after a time, became rather futile and academic to the issue itself. Needless to say, the face-to-face meetings never took place; and as Gwin trailed Broderick around the campaign circuit, the clash of opinion and personality was based on the "phonographically" transcribed reports of the speeches as they appeared in the *Sacramento Daily Union*.²

The campaign "swing" took the two men through the most heavily settled section of the state, the northern diggings; and, except for San Francisco, one or the other covered all of the main population centers. Between July 9 and August 23 Broderick spoke in Placerville, Forest City [Hill], Marysville, Nevada City, Downieville, La Porte [Portola], Quincy, Yreka, Weaverville, Shasta, Red Bluff, Sacramento, Columbia, Stockton, and San Jose. Gwin's campaign trail was less extensive; between July 11 and August 12 he spoke only in Grass Valley, Forest Hill, Yreka, Weaverville, Shasta, and Marysville. Campaign trappings typical of the mid-19th century were in evidence everywhere. Arrangements were made for the speaking to take place in the most central and convenient open space in each town visited; usually the speaker's stand was erected in front of or opposite the largest (or perhaps the only) hotel so that some spectators could be seated on the hotel balconies. While the presence of women was neither common nor encouraged at political meetings in 1859, it was twice remarked and with some surprise, surprise occasioned by their apparent interest in the political proceedings, that a number of women were present on the balconies. In only one town was any provision made for seating on the ground level, and then with benches for only a small fraction of the crowd. The speaker's stands were draped with bunting and decorated with signs welcoming the speaker or with appropriate political slogans. On other occasions, "illuminations" with a silhouette of the principal were hung in the street. In Sacramento, Stockton, and Marysville, bands on the hotel balconies played before the speaking started, and rockets and fireworks announced the meetings. A torchlight parade preceded the meeting in Sacramento, and a bonfire burned in the center of the street in San Jose. The speakers were greeted with "immense applause," "cheers, and a salute," and even "nine cheers and a 'tiger'."

The campaign and the speaking excited remarkable interest as attested by the size of the crowds attending. They ranged from 300, Gwin's smallest in Forest Hills, to 6,000, Broderick's largest in Sacramento. Those for Broderick's meetings in Downieville and Sacra-

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mento were estimated to have been the largest ever assembled for a political meeting in either place. Broderick's audiences ranged from 500 to 6000, averaging 1500 persons, while Gwin's ranged from 300 to 500 with an average of 450 present. Broderick outdrew Gwin wherever he went: 750 to 300 in Forest Hills, 1,000 to 400 in Yreka, and 800 to 500 in Weaverville. In the whole campaign Broderick spoke to approximately 22,850 and Gwin to 2,500. Except for an occasional straggler, the audiences were all highly partisan and remarkably well behaved considering the heat of the campaign. At the arranged hour, usually 8:30 p. m., a temporary chairman would call the meeting to order; and a permanent one would be elected by acclamation along with a selection of honorary vice-presidents and a secretary. Then the permanent chairman in a very brief introduction would present the principal speaker, either Gwin or Broderick. One of the unusual features of the debates judged by contemporary standards was the length of the speeches and of the meetings. The principal spoke for from half-an-hour to two hours, with the average perhaps an hour-and-a-half. He was always followed by other speakers — sometimes by as many as four, who all spoke at length. The meetings lasted from two hours and forty-five minutes to four and one-half hours with the average three hours and forty-five minutes. One meeting went on for almost seven hours; in that instance there were rival stands and speakers and the spectators gravitated back and forth between them. However, the intense interest in the campaign, the personality of the central figures, and the fact that this was a rare form of entertainment in an entertainment-starved frontier held these large crowds on their feet for up to four hours.

III.

Broderick and Gwin were unmatched in ability and experience as speakers in the task to which they came on the stump. Broderick's public speaking experience had been extremely limited; his efforts at persuasion had been confined largely to the "smoke filled room," where he exercised his most effective control. In the Senate he had made only a single speech. "He had never attempted stump speaking or been trained for it; nor was it known that he could make a stump speech . . . Even some of his most intimate friends trembled for his success."³ Gwin, on the other hand, was an experienced speaker. As early as 1841 in Mississippi he was active and effective as a campaigner and as a stump speaker.⁴ His wide experience included a pre-Convention tour of California in 1849, a leading role as a speaker in the Convention itself, extensive oratory in the Senate, and

as a stump campaigner in California in every election from 1850 on. This wide disparity in speaking background and ability actually, however, proved to be of little apparent significance in the heat of the debates.

"In the tremendous interests at stake . . . he [Broderick] developed ability as a terse and powerful orator . . . He was so earnest, so worked up in what he had to say, that he never thought about oratory; but poured out his soul in a powerful, unimpeded and irresistible stream of eloquence . . . everywhere he astonished his hearers with his extraordinary and unexpected command of the most powerful and effective Anglo-Saxon diction."⁵ "Though no orator, Broderick had a blunt and effective way of putting things . . ."⁶ Despite such encomiums, it is difficult to make a conclusive evaluative judgement on Broderick's delivery. He had a certain informality, but energy and drive were his chief traits and virtues. His speaking was extempore and without notes except when he read from documents and letters. It was charged by his political enemies that his speeches were written for him; however an examination of them and of the other available evidence tends to disprove these assertions.⁷

While Gwin had the advantage in speaking experience and undoubtedly in poise on the stump, still apparently that did not make him more overwhelmingly effective. "He was a clear, impressive and forcible debater, addressed himself always to his subject, indulged in no 'Buncombe' . . ."⁸ While Gwin was ". . . reasonably skilful in the use of those arts by which large assemblages are entertained and aroused to action,"⁹ still the nature of the speech content suggests Gwin's reserve, leading to a somewhat dry, pedestrian quality in delivery. Gwin's background, that of the Southern gentleman, reserved in manner and in his dealings with others, argued against high emotion or flamboyancy; but still the general evidence attested that he held the attention of his audiences with a quiet, conversational directness. Because of the attack and defense nature of the campaign perhaps he used more energy and emotional expression than he had previously. The speeches were delivered extempore without notes, but with occasionally read quotations.

Broderick's speeches were all without introductions except perhaps a reference to the locality, the occasion, or to Gwin's latest attack. The conclusions were limited to a closing sentence or two with an occasional direct appeal for support. The organization was loose and discursive — a conversation on an issue or issues rather than a carefully planned or organized discourse. Broderick's technique in development was to state his point of view, to restate it, and then to

marshal his evidence (generally documentary: letters and readings from the record) to support it deductively. As much of the speaking was rebuttal, a frequent device was to quote Gwin and then attack the statement directly. Ethical and pathetic appeals were Broderick's chief means of arousing his audiences. "Never had such a volume of vehement wrath and terrible abuse poured from the mouth of a public man, directed at another."¹⁰ Naturally, this excessive invective was directed primarily at Gwin. Broderick was enraged, and he demanded that his hearers feel his emotion and obey its impulse. In the ethical appeal he pictured himself as upstanding, honest, and trusting — a public servant trying to serve the best interests of his constituents while his honest motives were misunderstood; his character besmirched, and he himself, betrayed. The ethical appeal was skilful if unabashed and was effective with his sympathetic audiences. His style was blunt with simple and direct statements lacking polish of literary-rethorical quality. There were no allusions or figurative language except in the literary and historic name calling. Occasional wit and humor, not easy humor, but strained and malicious, was at the expense of the his opponent. Altogether, the direct stump attack was the heart of Broderick's speaking approach.

While Gwin's formal speaking in the Constitutional Convention and in the Senate had been characterized by lucid, logical organization and development, obviously carefully thought out, his stump speeches appeared to be planless, disjunctive discussion on a wide range of topics, hap-hazardly organized and developed. As Gwin said, "... it was only my purpose to make a few desultory remarks."¹¹ In the short, pointed introductions he identified himself with his audiences and concluded without summary to appeal for votes for the "regular" Democratic ticket. His premises were developed deductively without close chains of reasoning or detailed evidence except occasional reading from the records. Gwin made extensive use of pathetic and ethical appeals, particularly in the direct rebuttal to the accusations made by Broderick. His ethical appeal was as the *true* representative of the people and of the *real* Democratic party and as the benefactor of California through his efforts in the Senate. He claimed uprightness in all of his political dealings and that the attacks on his honesty were smears by disappointed office seekers. The ethical appeals were reasonably skilfully handled and certainly were effective on the already favorably disposed audiences. Because of the conversational nature of the speaking, the style was loose and rambling without pretense at polish or careful wording. Figurative language was absent, and the only humor was sarcasm and satire at Broderick's expense. In this situation

Gwin had neither the time nor the inclination for a polished style of address.¹²

While the "personal issue" — the clash of personality, the invective, and the name calling — was undoubtedly the outstanding attraction of the debates, still it has been exaggerated at the expense of the more fundamental clash of opinion, which provided eleven major issues as the core of the debates.¹³ The first issue, that of whether a territory could determine before it became a state if it were to be slave or free, was the most important of the broad general questions and it was debated on its merits and at some length. Broderick contended that on the basis of the Kansas-Nebraska Act the people of a territory could make this decision at any time, while Gwin countered that they could not decide until they actually had applied for statehood. In the second issue Broderick argued that the Lecompton Constitution for Kansas had been illegally drawn and had no force, while Gwin rejoined by supporting the viewpoint of the Buchanan administration that it was the legally constituted government of the territory. The naturalization question, a third issue, was at that time a national question of some importance. Broderick argued for a strong policy which would protect a naturalized citizen, particularly from military conscription, if he returned to the country of his origin. On the other hand, Gwin maintained that absolute protection, while desirable, was impossible under then existing international conventions.

On the fourth issue, the overland mail, the clash was over the proposed route for the stages and the scheduled time of the service. Broderick was urging a direct middle overland route in a shorter time than government contracts demanded. Gwin favored a southern as well as a middle route and maintained that greater speed was humanly impossible. The disagreement on the projected Pacific railroad centered on the route and on Broderick's belief that Gwin had not been active in his support of the plans for the railroad, even seeming to oppose them. Broderick felt that Gwin as an ex-Southerner was attempting to delay a decision in order to secure a Southern route to tie California to the South. Gwin answered that the actual route was immaterial (although he favored the most direct one) and that political expediency, not any love of the South, forced him to advocate the Southern route in order to get a railroad as soon as possible from the East to California. In 1850, because of the high living costs in California, federal government salaries had been set at a higher level for California than for the rest of the country. Broderick argued that the justification for the higher salaries no longer existed, while Gwin, on the other hand, attempted to prove that the

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differential still prevailed and justified them. While both men argued for the immediate fortification of Lime Point, the northern entrance to the Golden Gate, Broderick held that the price demanded for the land was excessive and that Gwin was delaying the project as he was involved in it in some obscure and grafting way. Gwin countered that he was not personally or financially implicated and that the price of the land was not unseemly.

The issue of the challenge to meet in debate, merely the give-and-take of two personalities feinting for advantage in the campaign, was primarily centered on personal acrimony. A ninth issue arose over Gwin's charge that Broderick was no longer a member of the Democratic party as he had disregarded the instructions of the Democratic Legislature in California on the Lecompton Constitution, had failed to attend the party caucuses in Washington, had openly broken with the party head, President Buchanan, and had split the party in California. Broderick did not deny these facts, but argued simply that he had a right to do those things and still be a Democrat, perhaps a better one than the regular party members were. The question of the senatorial election of 1857 was debated with acerbity in nearly every speech. Broderick, who devoted his longest speech exclusively to it, gloated that Gwin was his tool after making the "deal" which secured his re-election to the Senate and, hence, was no longer fit to serve the people of California in any representative capacity. Gwin countered that the "deal" was not what it seemed to be on the surface, was not a surrender to the will of Broderick, nor was it made to promote his own selfish political ambitions, but actually the best interests of the state. A final major issue ran throughout the debates and characterized the personal antipathy which the men had for each other. It was a matter of name calling and personal charge and counter charge on the basis of which the entire debates too often have been characterized. Broderick made generous use of epithets, such as liar, cheat, traitor, leper, and turncoat to characterize Gwin and compared him to Pecksniff, Benedict Arnold, Tartuffe, Iago, and somehow even to Hester Pryn. Gwin labeled Broderick as a cheat, a dishonest man, a vulgarian, a renegade, a pathological liar, a traitor, a failure, a turncoat, and even a dog. *In toto* this name-calling would be a fit subject for a study in invective. It was these eleven major issues, coupled with nine subsidiary ones, which formed the structure for the argumentative clash between Broderick and Gwin.¹⁴

Perhaps, one might expect to be able to determine the winner in a debate such as this by answering such questions as to whose talent and experience at speaking provided an initial advantage;

whose argumentative structure was the sounder; whose persuasive case was the more moving; whose delivery was the more communicative; who received the more votes at the polls and, finally, whose speaking caused the more far-reaching effects? In this instance, in the vigor of the campaign, basic differences in initial ability apparently provided no vantage ground for either speaker. As well, if one were to apply classical rhetorical standards, including analysis of argument, method of development, organization, style, personal-emotional appeal, and, finally, delivery, to the speaking such a basis for judgment similarly would prove unsatisfactory and would leave little actual choice between Broderick and Gwin. Both sets of speeches are equally mediocre classical "models"; but, at the same time, they are interesting, provocative, and even effective oral communication in a campaign situation such as this one was. While the speeches did demonstrate a direct clash on numerous issues and more significantly between the personalities of the two leading political figures in California in 1859, neither on the basis of experience nor by rhetorical standards can it be said that either man "won" the debates.

While Broderick spoke to more people than did Gwin, such figures cannot be taken as a token of success. Perhaps as the more colorful and controversial figure, Broderick drew larger audiences; perhaps this was but one of the vagaries of the campaign. No matter how efficacious the speaking of either man might have been, it could have had little influence on the undecided or opposition voter as each man was speaking almost exclusively to partisan audiences, whose members already were convinced of the point of view which the particular speaker espoused — hence, neither one reached his opposition. Too, a "Gallup Poll" in California in July and August of 1859 would have shown that the regular Democrats, Gwin's party, held a safe and commanding lead, an advantage which the debates could do little to change. By the pragmatic test of victory at the polls; Gwin "won" the debates; but it is doubtful that any speaking, no matter how telling as judged by any possible standard, would have altered this outcome. Hence, these bases for evaluation are relatively meaningless in attempting to determine the effectiveness of either speaker.

However, the debates do appear to have had other results and influences which were more significant than the immediate ones. Certainly they served to solidify and strengthen sentiment among the large minority group of anti-administration Democrats. Although Broderick had not acted on the invitation of Horace Greeley to ally himself and his adherents with the Republican party in

The Great Debate in California: 1859

1859, the campaign and the debates, in many ways, brought Broderick and the Anti-Lecompton Democrats closer to the Republicans than they were to the Gwin Democrats.

While the duel with Terry in which Broderick was killed cannot be said to be the direct outcome of the debates, yet, certainly, they were an inciting cause. Earlier clashes between Broderick and Gwin and between Broderick and others of the Democratic opposition had led many, even Broderick himself, to expect a challenge to a duel, probably from Gwin; and certainly the exchange in the debates, particularly the acrimony of the personal invective, strengthened this belief and hastened the day, perhaps even made it inevitable. Broderick declined one challenge during the course of the campaign but announced that he would hold himself ready for another, more suitable one when the election was over. An examination of the invective which Broderick directed at Gwin makes it seem plausible that it might have been inserted deliberately in an attempt to bring the feud with Gwin to a climax. Perhaps the duel could have been avoided at that moment, perhaps forever, had it not been for the virulence of the public debate. In that sense, one of the results of the debates was the duel which made Broderick a martyr-hero who, in death had, perhaps, a more significant influence on political events in California than he did in life. His martyrdom was used by the Republicans as a focal point in the campaign of 1860 and brought anti-administration Democrats to the Republican party in sufficient numbers to insure a Republican victory. James G. Blaine said of its effects, "The bloody tragedy influenced political parties, and contributed in no small degree to Lincoln's triumph in California the ensuing year."¹⁵ Too, some of the onus of Broderick's assassination was reflected on Gwin, hastening the political eclipse from which he never recovered entirely.

Whatever can be said of the speeches in the debates between Broderick and Gwin in 1859 as models of rhetorical excellence or of the effectiveness of the debaters, certainly it cannot be denied that they were interesting and exciting political events which tended to crystalize opinion on a wide variety of issues and arouse tremendous emotional bias, particularly with relation to the debaters themselves. Certainly they are memorable in the political history of California and were decisive to the fate of the participants.

NOTES

1. The full and interesting story of this struggle is told in Lynch, J., *A Senator of the Fifties* (San Francisco, 1911) and O'Meara, J., *Broderick and Gwin* (San Francisco, 1881).
2. The speeches are reported in the *Sacramento Daily Union*, July 11, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 22, 25, and 29 and August 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 10, 15, 18, and 26, 1859. These and

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- other issues of the *Daily Union* were used as the basis for the description of the debates.
3. Hittell, Theodore H., *History of California* (San Francisco, 1898), p. 213.
 4. Claiborne, J. F. H., *Mississippi, as a Province, Territory and State* (Jackson, Miss., 1880), pp. 433-34.
 5. Hittell, *op. cit.*, pp. 313, 219, and 220.
 6. Rhodes, James F., *History of the United States* (New York, 1902), II, 377.
 7. Lynch, *op. cit.*, pp. 177-8; cf. *Sacramento Daily Union* (July 16, 1859), 2.
 8. Claiborne, *op. cit.*, p. 440.
 9. Eldredge, Z. S., *History of California* (New York, 1915), p. 484.
 10. O'Meara, *op. cit.*, p. 213.
 11. "Speech by W. M. Gwin," *Sacramento Daily Union* (August 15, 1859), 1.
 12. See: Hargis, Donald E., "D. C. Broderick, Pioneer Senator," *Speech Monographs*, XVII, 2 (June, 1950), 149-60, and "W. M. Gwin: Middleman," *Historical Society of Southern California QUARTERLY*, XL, 1 (March, 1958), 17-32, for more complete exposition and analysis of the speaking of Broderick and Gwin.
 13. For a more detailed exposition of the "issues" see: Hargis, Donald E., "The Issues in the Broderick-Gwin Debates of 1859," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XXXII, 4 (December 1953), 313-25.
 14. *Ibid.*, 322 includes a list of these minor issues.
 15. Blaine, James G., *Twenty Years of Congress* (Norwich, Conn., 1884), 1, 141.

Lantern in the Western Sky

By Paul M. De Falla

(Continued from the March QUARTERLY)

PART II



ON OCTOBER 26, the *Los Angeles Daily Star* reported what it had found at the Coronel Block after the mob had gotten through with it:

The guard posted by the sheriff was kept on duty until daylight yesterday morning, at which hour those portions of the building to which the crowd had failed to penetrate were entered, and eight Chinamen and seven women found therein. Almost every compartment in the block has been ransacked; trunks, boxes, and locked receptacles of all kind broken open in a search for money and valuables. The Chinese are fond of gold, jewelry, and generally have large quantities of it for the adornment of their women. This well known fact attracted thieves, and was doubtless the main cause to the thoroughness of the search for plunder. In the entire building, only two trunks were found unopened. One Chinese merchant states he had \$4,000.00 in gold in his trunk, and once during the evening, risked his life to save his property, but was prevented from getting within reach of the crowd by friends. Others claim to have had sums ranging from one hundred to a thousand dollars stolen. It is stated that the pockets of the captured were robbed in many instances, whilst dangling from the improvised gallows. It is also asserted that \$7,000.00 in gold were stolen from one of the plundered rooms.

On the same day that the *Star* printed the loss of Chinese property during the riot, the *Los Angeles Daily News* printed the loss of Chinese life, listing the names of the murdered Orientals, and also giving the "attributed cause of their death."

1. "Doctor Chee Long Tong, known as "Gene" Tong. Shot through the head and hanged."
2. "Wa Sin Quai, resident of Negro Alley. Shot in the abdomen and legs."
3. "Chang Wan, resident at Doctor Tong's house. Hanged."
4. "Long Quai. Hanged."
5. "Joung Burrow. Shot through the head and left wrist."
6. (No name given. Probably Won Yu Tuk. Ed.) "Hanged. Was a cigar manufacturer."
7. "Wong Chin. Hanged. Three cartridges were found in his pocket."

8. "Tong Wan. Shot. Stabbed. Hanged."
9. "Ah Loo. Hanged. Member of the Hap Was Company. Had just arrived from China."
10. "Wan Foo. Hanged. Member of the Wing Young Company."
11. "Day Kee. Hanged."
12. "Ho. Hing. Hanged."
13. "Ah Was. Hanged."
14. "Ah Cut. Shot in the abdomen and extremities. Was liquor manufacturer."
15. "Lo Hey. Hanged. Of the Wong Young Company."
16. "Ah Wan. Hanged. Of the Win Young Company."
17. "Wing Chee. Hanged. Of the Sam Yup Company."
18. Unidentified. "Who lay in the cemetery, where he had been taken as soon as hanged, being the first victim." (Probably Wong Tuck. Ed.)
19. Fun Yu. Shot through head. Died October 27.

Two days after the massacre, the news of the pogrom in Los Angeles had supplanted the story of the great Chicago fire in America. The Associated Press had wired the story to San Francisco as the massacre had developed throughout the evening, sending its first dispatch to the *San Francisco Examiner* at 7:00 p. m. on October 24, followed by other dispatches at 9:00 p. m. and at 9:15 p. m. The 9:00 p. m. dispatch reported in part: "The crowd assembled extends from Gate's corner saloon to the Pico House on one side, and to the outskirts of Negro Alley on the other. If the Chinese are driven out, there are fears of a general slaughter."

Fifteen minutes later, the Associated Press was able to report that "Eight Chinamen have been hung, and nine more will be hung as soon as the ropes can be applied. There is intense excitement and a general riot is impending."

The general slaughter and impending riot having duly taken place, a Coroner's Jury was convened in Los Angeles on October 26 for the purpose of sitting in inquest over the bodies of the slain Chinese. This inquisitorial body sat in judgment for a full four days, its meeting lasting until Monday, October 30, during which time it examined seventy-nine witnesses. Its struggle from the very beginning was a fight against silence on the part of most of the persons called upon to testify — particularly when it came to giving names.

The *Los Angeles Daily News* took note of this situation and remarked wryly: "But a peculiar ignorance of names was manifested by the majority of witnesses."

This reticence on the part of witnesses was understandable. No one called to testify before the Coroner wanted to run the risk of being placed in the category of a "Chinese lover" by identifying

Lantern in the Western Sky

non-Chinese persons who might have been observed hanging Orientals or looting the Coronel Block apartments on the night of the riot. And since the Chinese who had managed to survive what the *Los Angeles Star* labelled "The Night of Horrors" could under the law not testify, no one could be called to account for the riot and its results as long as no one was identified.

The leaders of the Hong Chow and Nin Yung companies, however, were not as silent as the witnesses called before the Coroner. On October 30, Yo Hing of the Hong Chow Company mounted the columns of the *Los Angeles Star* and told his version of why the fight between his company and the Nin Yung Company had taken place, being careful, however, not to mention any non-Chinese names.

Yo Hing told the world through the *Los Angeles Star* that the quarrel with the Nin Yung faction had started when a Nin Yung man had attempted to extort some money from a Hong Chow man who was keeping a store in the Beaudry Block by trying to make him pay \$50.00 a month for the privilege of being allowed to do business in Negro Alley. Yo Hing also charged that Sam Yuen had hired some professional Chinese killers to murder him, offering them a thousand dollars for his life. The leader of the Hong Chow Company also stated that a certain Won Yu Tok, who had been hanged during the riot, was the man who had killed Robert Thompson.

The following day, Sam Yuen, the leader of the Nin Yung Company, was given equal space in the *Star* to present his side of the story. At this time Sam Yuen said that the statements given by Yo Hing to the *Star* had been offered:

With a view to mislead and hide his own villany, for when the truth shall be elicited and made known, it will be apparent that this same Yo Hing is at the bottom of, and the prime mover in, the late riot; not about premises alone, but about a Chinese woman, sister of Ah Guey, that had been abducted, held, and secreted by this same Yo Hing and party, with threats of extermination of the Nin Yung Company — and the ball opened.

As to the shooting of Ah Choy the afternoon of the riot, Sam Yuen said:

Late in the evening of the sad and bloody riot, Yo Hing and three others of his party (Chinamen) as here related by Ah Choy, who stated that he was eating his evening meal, at the back part of a house on the east side of Negro Alley, and heard a fuss, and went out to the front door; Yo Hing and three others were around with pistols, and one of them shot Ah Choy in the neck, of which wound he has since died. Yo Hing and the others then ran down the stairs at the corner.

Sam Yuen then gave his reasons as to why Police Officer Jesus Bilderrain and Citizen Robert Thompson had been fired upon, saying that at the time Yo Hing and his party had run down the steps at the end of the Beaudry Block:

The policemen were then at Caswell's & Ellis' at Wright's corner, and immediately ran over to where the shooting took place; and then came back with Yo Hing and others to the Win Chung house in the Coronel Block. At this time the inmates, thinking and believing that Yo Hing and party had come to kill them, some of them commenced firing in defense of their lives.

This unofficial, uncorroborated revelation from Sam Yuen that members of the Nin Yung Company had fired upon certain persons at Negro Alley prior to the riot "in defense of their lives" deserves some consideration — if for no other reason than the fact that no person in the world other than Sam Yuen ever afterward volunteered one word of explanation as to why policeman Bilderrain and citizen Thompson were fired upon on that fateful afternoon. Also, Sam Yuen's statements as to why Bilderrain and Thompson were shot at must be examined in the particular light of the fact that at the time officer Bilderrain appeared in Negro Alley (as he himself testified), Sam Yuen, who had just caused Ah Choy to be freed on bail, had nothing whatever to fear with regard to being arrested. Still, according to Policeman Bilderrain's own testimony in court later, immediately upon arriving at Negro Alley, and before Sam Yuen began to fire at him, he charged upon the leader of the Nin Yung Company, gun in hand, calling upon civilians to help him capture the Oriental — when it should have been the leader of the Hong Chow group, Yo Hing, whom he should have been looking for — as there was a Nin Yung man, Ah Choy, stretched out in the alley seriously wounded.

Sam Yuen's story, of course, has something of the bizarre in it when he contends by implication that the officers who arrived at Negro Alley after Ah Choy had been shot could have actually been part and parcel of Yo Hing's "party" — come to kill the members of the Nin Yung Company.

This extraordinary theory would be valid only if one were to assume that it was possible for Officers Bilderrain, Sanchez, and probably Hester, to have been so closely allied with Yo Hing's group that they would take the Hong Chow Company's part in its fight with the Nin Young group to the extent of undertaking to wipe out its enemies. At first blush, this assumption on the part of Yuen does not seem reasonable — that members of the police department of the city could be that closely linked to any Chinese company.



— Printing Plate from the Society's Collection

JOHN GOLLER'S WAGON SHOP

Located on Los Angeles Street just south of Commercial Street

"... At the place of execution on Los Angeles Street, a little urchin not over ten years old stood on top of the awning from which the Chinese were hanged. He was active as anyone doing the hanging. His childish voice sounded strangely at that time and place, as he called for more victims to sacrifice to the demon god; and it was a stranger and sadder sight to behold him lay hand to the rope, and help haul them up." — H. H.

Bancroft: CALIFORNIA INTER POCULA, pp. 556.



NEGRO ALLEY, O

This is a reproduction of an original oil painting by F. Schafer which is now in the old firehouse, which is now under restoration, looks across "Ocampo Plaza" towards the building on the right). According to Thompson and West's HISTORY OF LOS ANGELES, constructed between u



SOUTHEAST FROM THE PLAZA

ection as a gift from Miss Laura Andresen. The view from the general location of
lock (the row of buildings on the left), and the Coronel Block (immediately behind
which quotes the LOS ANGELES STAR of June 6, 1857, the Beaudry Block was con-
ember in 1857.

But as a matter of fact, public officials of the city of Los Angeles in those days were unashamedly allied with this or that Chinese company and its intrigues — and this was particularly true of police officers. And Sam Yuen knew this very well, as he himself had enviable connections with the police department of Los Angeles.

Policemen Gard and Harris, for instance, who together comprised one third of the police force of the city, were the avowed friends of Sam Yuen — the owner of the Wing Chung Store in Negro Alley. Thus the *Los Angeles Star* was able to report a few days before the massacre that:

Officers Gard and Harris were yesterday the recipients of a beautiful gift, consisting of Chinese embroidery, presented by the Wing Chung Company, as a testimonial of their appreciation of services rendered.

In appreciation of "services rendered" indeed! Unfortunately, the *Star* did not reveal what type of services Harris and Gard were in the habit of rendering to the Nin Yung Company — but as we ourselves have seen, it was Policeman Harris who furnished Ah Choy with bodyguard services from the courtroom to his house the day of the riot; and later on, during the bloody scenes of the massacre, it was Sam Yuen's store which had exclusively occupied the attentions of Policemen Harris and Gard.

It adds a touch of irony, of course, to note at this time that in spite of these officer's careful attention to the interests of Sam Yuen during the evening of the riot, Yuen's six thousand dollars in gold disappeared from the premises of the Wing Chung store in Negro Alley, never to be recovered. But because of the tremendous commotion accompanying the riot, who could afterward ever tell what really happened to Yuen's hoard?

In fact, so involved were some of the Los Angeles police officers in those days with Chinese intrigues involving money, that less than a year before the massacre, the city marshal himself, William C. Warren, and one of his own officers, Joseph Dye, engaged in a gunfight over which one of them had coming to him certain monies offered by a Chinese company for the "capture" of a Chinese prostitute wanted on a bogus warrant. The quarrel took place in downtown Los Angeles, in the presence of dozens of people, near the corner of Temple and Main streets. At this time one of policeman Dye's bullets struck Marshall Warren in the groin, inflicting a wound upon Warren from which he died the next day. Another of Dye's shots struck the marshal's watch where he wore it in his waistcoat, and the force of this powder-driven blow knocked War-

ren down — and once the marshal was on the ground, policeman Dye leaped upon him, biting him with his teeth and beating him with his pistol. The ferocious officer was pulled off the wounded marshal by Major Horace Bell, who happened to be in professional attendance in court across the street from where the fight was taking place. Major Bell was an attorney in Los Angeles at that time, one of the thirty-six practicing lawyers in the Angel City. Thirty-six lawyers; six for every policeman in Los Angeles. In those days, it probably would have been better if the ratio had been reversed. And today, if the same ratio existed as existed in 1870, there would be approximately twenty-seven thousand lawyers in the city of Los Angeles.

Thus, with police officers of the city shooting each other down in the streets of Los Angeles as a result of quarrels based on outright Chinese intrigue, it does not ring absurd to imagine that when Sam Yuen saw Officer Bilderrain charging upon him gun in hand at Negro Alley for no apparent reason on the day of the massacre, the leader of the Nin Yung Company should instantly surmise that this particular policeman was actually a Yo Hing man, bent on rendering the Hong Chow Company a service much as Officers Harris and Gard were wont to render the Ning Yung Company services. Anyway, as matters turned out, no one other than Sam Yuen ever volunteered an explanation as to why members of the Nin Yung Company had fired upon Bilderrain and Thompson, although this occurrence was of the utmost importance, as it was the fundamental basis for the riot which took place soon afterward.

In the meantime, although the coroner's jury was not having as much luck in eliciting official information from its non-Chinese witnesses as the newspapers of Los Angeles were having in eliciting unofficial information from their Chinese ones, it continued to question person after person, day after day, until, little by little, a number of Angelenos were found who would talk names.

One witness, a man named Weaver, definitely remembered having heard Councilman George Fall and *Los Angeles Star* Reporter H. M. Mitchell counsel the mob during the riot that all Chinese ought to be hanged. This testimony by Weaver was printed by the *Los Angeles Daily News*, the *Star's* rival — and the *Star* immediately came to the aid of its reporter, saying: The case is probably one of mistaken identity, as we are informed by several parties that the witness, who is, by the way, a thoroughly honest and generally reliable man, was much excited Tuesday night, and could easily, in the excitement of the occasion, make an honest mistake.

This explanation apparently satisfied the public, because three years later, it elected Mr. Mitchell to the post of Public Administrator of the city of Los Angeles — and in 1878, Mr. Mitchell was elected sheriff of the county.

Mr. Weaver, however, felt that his identification of Councilman Fall and Reporter Mitchell was just as thoroughly honest and generally reliable as the *Star* said he himself was, and stuck by his story.

But the most remarkable testimony at the inquest came from the officers of the law who had been present at the riot of October 24. Like Mr. Weaver, they too were thoroughly honest. In fact, they were downright candid, and testified to the effect that: Certainly Harris and Gard had stayed at Sam Yuen's store all night. Certainly they had personally turned over to members of the mob many Chinese taken out of the Coronel Block, including Doctor Chien Lee Tong — but they had of course instructed the mobsters to take the Orientals to jail, not to hang them. Certainly Officer Bryant had seen a drunken shoemaker named A. R. Johnson running around with a pistol in his hand, bragging he had helped hang four Chinamen. Certainly (this from Officer Emil Harris) all of the victims of this massacre had absolutely nothing to do with the shooting of Policeman Bilderrain and Robert Thompson. Certainly (this from Harris again) Sheriff Burns had come and gone from Negro Alley before the riot started. Yes, Marshal Baker and Sheriff Burns had decamped from the vicinity of Negro Alley before the riot and had not returned there until after the Coronel Block had been successfully stormed by the mob. Certainly all this was true.

The extraordinary frankness of the officers' testimony clearly implies that, as law enforcement men, they had felt during the night of the riot that it would have been legally useless to have made any arrests because the victims of the mob were Chinese and therefore, clearly outside the protection of statutory law — where they had been placed by the California Legislature eight years before.

Furthermore, this law of March 3, 1863 (an amendment to Section 14 of an act of April 16, 1850 entitled *An Act Concerning Crimes & Punishments*) had very recently been upheld by the highest judicial body of the state, the Supreme Court, when, in the case of *People vs Brady*, a case wherein a Mr. James Brady had been convicted of robbing a Mr. Hing Kee, a Chinese, the supreme court had reversed Mr. Brady's conviction on the grounds that the lower courts of the City and County of San Francisco had erred in allow-

ing the Chinese victim to testify against the defendant, a white man.

Thus, the first test case against the remarkable amendment of 1863 resulted in a resounding defeat for those in California who held that this law was contrary to the 14th Amendment of the United States Constitution — and therefore, if there had been any question in anyone's mind about the soundness of the law of 1863 regarding the Chinese, there was no such question after Associate Justice Jackson Temple handed down the majority opinion in the Brady case in October, 1870. In this case, Chief Justice Augustus Rhodes disagreed with the majority opinion in what is probably the shortest written dissent in the history of California jurisprudence. All he said was: "I dissent." He did, however, add: "I will hereafter, should time permit, more fully state the reasons which lead me to the conclusion that Section 14 of the Act Concerning Crimes and Punishments was abrogated by the 14th Amendment to the Constitution." But Chief Justice Rhodes somehow never got around to actually stating the reasons for his dissent. And as matters turned out, precisely twelve months after the Brady decision came down, the Chinese massacre took place in Los Angeles, an occurrence which the Los Angeles police reported in almost casual terms to the coroner's jury when called upon to testify about the pogrom.

Therefore, only the laws of humanity were left to protect the Chinese in the Coronel Block on the night of the riot, and apparently acting on the basis of these non-statutory mandates, at least Policemen Sands, Bryant, and Hester, had taken it upon themselves to rescue as many Chinese as possible. Not so with the other officers. They went by the book. No testimony available from witnesses or victims, no arrests.

In such an atmosphere of statutory freedom, the scores of "hard cases" which infested Los Angeles in 1871, found it easy to carry out what is probably the biggest mass lynching in the history of California, if not the whole country.

At the close of its inquest, the Coroner's Jury issued the following findings:

We, the undersigned, the jurors, summoned to appear before J. Kurtz, the Coroner of Los Angeles County, to inquire into the cause of the Chinamen deceased, after having made such an inquisition to recognize the bodies, and having stated the cause of death of each one separately, further state that we find the mob consisted of people of all nationalities as they live in Los Angeles, and find that we have sufficient evidence to accuse the following persons as having taken part in the destruction of the lives and

property of the Chinamen, and we further direct the attention of the Grand Jury to reported testimony in which they will find many names of such persons who seemed to have encouraged the mob by their sympathy with them in expressions.

The persons who were accused by the Coroner's Jury of having actually taken part in the massacre and looting of October 24 were eight in number, among which were Curly Crenshaw, Shoemaker A. R. Johnson, D. W. Moody (the man who had retrieved Policeman Bilderrain's gun at Negro Alley), and a certain "Fatty" Mendell. These persons were forthwith put in jail on the basis of coroner's warrants, and the question now was: Who else would get caught in the net once the grand jury began an investigation?

At the outset of the official inquiries about the massacre, although the Coroner's Jury had found that the "rioters" were people of "all nationalities," the blame for the murders of the Chinese was popularly placed upon the Irish and Mexicans in Los Angeles.

Thus, in telling about a woman who had furnished her clothes-line to the mob for the purpose of hanging Chinese to John Goller's shop porch, the witness who told the story identified the woman as being Irish. And, an unidentified eye-witness to the massacre, in writing his account of the affair to the *San Francisco Bulletin*, stated flatly that: "Most of the whites engaged in the hangings were men of Hibernian extraction."

Also, during the first day of the inquest, a telegram was sent to the *San Francisco Bulletin* by some one which stated in part: "The evidence so far implicates two Irishmen, one having boasted that he had helped get away with three Chinamen."

The Hispanic-Americans of the city of Los Angeles, who were in those days referred to as "native Californians," "Sonorians," "Spaniards," or "Mexicans," also came in for a large share of the unofficial blame for the murders of Chinese on the night of the riot.

Officer Gard testified to the Coroner's Jury that the men who had murdered the aged Chinese whose hand he had been holding in one of the Coronel Block apartments were "a bunch of Mexicans." Of the men whom Attorney Hazard had prevailed upon to set free the Chinese they were dragging to his fate at the gallows, Hazard could identify only one: a man named Ramon Dominguez. J. M. Baldwin testified that he had found it necessary to address a portion of the mob in Spanish. And the temporary hero of the attack on the Chinese quarters through the roof of the apartments was a man identified as one Refugio Botello. Curly Crenshaw testified that the man who had loaned him a gun to use during the pogrom was a friend of his named Martinez — and the only man

identified during the inquest as having actually received a male Chinese captive from one of the police officers was Adolph Celis.

Also, when a man named C. P. Dorland was asked at the inquest as to where he had gotten a Chinese queue he had been observed thrusting under peoples' noses after the riot, Mr. Dorland testified that he had gotten it from a "Spaniard."

At the time Mr. Dorland testified at the inquest, he was clean-shaven, whereas on the night of the massacre, he had been seen sporting a bushy beard. When he was asked if he had shaved in an effort to avoid identification, Mr. Dorland said no; explaining that he had been meaning to shave off his beard for a long, long, time — and also explaining that during the night of the riot he had been very, very, drunk.

No attempt, however, was ever made to identify all of the culprits involved in the massacre of Chinese, whether Irish, Mexican, or of any other nationality, because the list furnished to the grand jury by the coroner giving the names of people "who seemed to have encouraged the mob" was not published by the newspapers, nor was it ever made public in any other way. In fact, this list seems to have completely disappeared, and is not known to exist today.

VII



APPROXIMATELY a week after the massacre, at the beginning of the month of November, 1871, the Los Angeles County Grand Jury was convened for the purpose of investigating further the riot of October 24. County Judge Ygnacio Sepulveda advised this inquisitorial body as follows:

Gentlemen, do your whole duty; be faithful to your trust.
In this way only can you satisfy an offended God, a violated law,
and an outraged humanity.

The grand jury then went to work with vigor, examining one hundred and eleven witnesses. Its task was made easier by the fact that not only did it already have a long list of suspects furnished it by the coroner, but the fact that Policeman Emil Harris had, for some reason or another, suddenly begun to get back his memory.

The result was that after weeks of investigation, the grand jury brought forth a veritable elephant, handing down a number of indictments which has been variously reported as thirty, thirty-nine, and one hundred and fifty. Among those indicted were Refugio Botello, Constable Richard Kerren, and the adventuresome Adolph Celis.

Actually, no one knows just how many people the grand jury indicted for the Chinese massacre, as only a small portion of the indictments were ever used, and the entire list was never published by the newspapers nor made public in any other way — and like the list made up by the coroner, the grand jury list of indictments has apparently disappeared, never to be seen again.

The only reason posterity knows that Refugio Botello and Adolph Celis were indicted, is that it is a matter of public record that these two men were tried for the murder of Doctor Tong along with Curly Crenshaw et al, who had originally been arrested on a coroner's warrant. And as to Constable of the County Richard Kerren having been indicted also; we know it only because he admitted it during the trial of Crenshaw. The constable himself, however, was never brought to trial on the basis of his indictment. In fact, it appears that he suffered no inconvenience at all as a consequence of his acts during the massacre.

In making its companion report to the accusations it handed down, the grand jury laid the entire blame for what had happened to the Chinese in Los Angeles on October 24 upon the officers of the law of the city and county. This report said in part:

We believe we should be wanting in our duty if we fail to present to this court the painful conclusion to which we are forced, that the officers of this country, as well as of this city, whose duty it is to preserve the peace and to arrest those who are violating the law, were deplorably inefficient in the performance of their duty during the scenes of confusion and bloodshed which disgraced our city, and has cast a reproach upon the people of Los Angeles County.

This "painful conclusion" to which the grand jury had been forced left a great deal to be desired when it came to explaining to the world what had caused the Chinese massacre, as this conclusion was left standing alone; unaccompanied by several other equally painful conclusions toward which the grand jury should have felt impelled — such as the conclusion that as long as the Chinese in California were left outside the protection of the law, depredations against them were as sure to follow as the night follows the day; and that as long as the city of Los Angeles remained sensationally wide-open, it was sure to continue to harbor within its corporate boundries an equally sensational large number of hoodlums ready to commit such depredations as the massacre of Chinese.


Also, prominent by its absence in the report the grand jury made was the painful conclusion that as long as the city council of the city of Los Angeles refused to ordain to its chief of police

the power of suspension over his officers, the police department of the city was a police department in name only; leaving the city of Los Angeles policed in theory alone.

On November 28, 1871, while the grand jury was still conducting its investigation, none other than Policeman Jesus Bilderrain appeared before Judge Trafford in Los Angeles and signed a complaint against Sam Yuen, charging the leader of the Nin Yung group with "wilfully, deliberately, feloniously, and of malice aforethought" having assisted and abetted one "John Doe, Chinaman" to "kill and murder" Robert Thompson.

This was a startling development. Had some Chinese informer talked? And who was this "John Doe, Chinaman"? Hadn't Yo Hing, in his interview with the *Star* said that a certain Won Yu Tok, hanged at the riot, was the man who had shot Robert Thompson? Los Angeles waited to see what would happen now. Would Sam Yuen, with his powerful connections in the police department be arrested — and would it develop that the "John Doe, Chinaman" named in Bilderrain's complaint was after all Won Yu Tok? Would the murder of Robert Thompson now be legally avenged? But the city waited in vain for the answers to these questions, because after getting the warrant for Sam Yuen, neither Policeman Bilderrain or any other officer of the law make any attempt at placing the leader of the Nin Yung Company in custody, although the newspapers kept on reporting that Yuen was in town. Months later, when Officer Bilderrain was haled into court and asked about the warrant he had obtained for Sam Yuen, the officer said he had lost it.

VIII

 IN 1871, the Seventeenth Judicial District of the state of California was comprised of the three largest counties in the state: Los Angeles, San Bernardino, and San Diego Counties. Its Los Angeles County sessions were held in the city of Los Angeles, the county seat, during the months of February, May, August, and November of each year. During the other months, it held its sessions in San Diego and San Bernardino counties.

However, since the massacre of Chinese in Los Angeles had taken place toward the end of October, and since the grand jury had used up most of the month of November for its investigation of the riot, none of the cases connected with the massacre could be brought before the Seventeenth Judicial District Court until its February session in Los Angeles the following year, 1872.

During the interim, Judge M. Morrison, presiding in this

court, died, and Robert M. Widney, the man who had rescued some Chinese from the mob on October 24, 1871, was appointed to take his place by the new governor of California, Newton Booth. Robert M. Widney came to the bench on January 2, 1872, a full four years before he was admitted to the bar in 1876. The fact that he was not an attorney at the time he was appointed to the bench was apparently no deterrent to his appointment; and neither did the fact that he had been actively engaged against the perpetrators of the Chinese murders on October, 1871, act as a deterrent to his trying some of these very rioters in his own court four months after the riot.

The task of preparing the prosecution of those accused of having been active in the Chinese massacre of course fell to the district attorney, Cameron E. Thom; a man eminently fitted for the task, as he was not only a lawyer of twenty years experience, but had himself been present in the vicinity of Negro Alley on the night of the massacre of Chinese, and had seen the Orientals being hanged.

At this point, it is not difficult to surmise that the defendants in the riot cases were in a ticklish position indeed, having as their prosecutor an eye-witness to their depredation, who in turn was trying them in a court presided over by a man who had had his very life threatened by mobsters during the massacre — a judge who was, to boot, not even an attorney, and consequently, could not be depended upon to understand some of the subtleties of the law which might be presented to him by the defense. In such a situation, a request for a change of venue on the part of the defense was certainly in order. But no such request was made, and as matters turned out, wittingly or unwittingly, that was the best move the defense made in the case — not to move for a change of venue.

On February 14, 1872, before any of the rioters were brought to trial before Judge Widney, the district attorney brought before the Seventeenth Judicial District court two Chinese, charged with the murder of Ah Choy, the man who had been shot in the neck just before the riot. The defendant's names were Quong Wan and Ah Ying, and in their case, the district attorney was apparently depending entirely on the testimony of another Chinese named Ah Ling, who had been "told" that Quong Wan and Ah Ying were the ones who had fired on Ah Choy in Negro Alley. In short, Ah Ling's testimony was to be pure hearsay — a fact which could have hardly escaped the notice of the district attorney. But Cameron E. Thom put on the case anyway — and lost it in short order.

The *Los Angeles Daily News* was dismayed at the showing the district attorney had made in this important case involving per-

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sons connected with the sensational killings of October 24, and raged: "The trial itself was a complete farce, and resulted in an utter failure on the part of the prosecution to establish the guilt of the accused."

As for the main rioters themselves, Cameron E. Thom chose to bring to court only eleven out of the "X" number of persons who had been indicted by the grand jury, with these defendants all being jointly charged with having been principals in the murder of Doctor Chien Lee Tong. Included in this group were Curly Crenshaw, Refugio Botello, A. R. Johnson, Fatty Mendell, D. W. Moody, and Adolph Celis.

This move on the part of the district attorney appears as a wise one, because most of the eleven men he was bringing to trial had already been arrested on coroner's warrants, and a great deal of testimony regarding their actions during the night of the massacre was already on record, whereas in the case of the other persons indicted, the record was not so straight. Cameron E. Thom probably said to himself that eleven birds in the hand were worth more than 150 in the bush — if that is the number the grand jury had indicted.

Then, a few days after the trial of Quong Wan and Ah Ying was finished, the first rioter came to trial before Judge Widney. He was Curly Crenshaw, the prepossessing and youthful drifter from Nevada and Los Angeles stableboy, for Curly had asked for a separate trial and his request had been granted. And defending him was Colonel E. J. C. Kewen, erstwhile attorney general of California, district attorney of Los Angeles County, and State Assemblyman; a staunch Confederate who, during the late war, had at one time been clapped in irons by the United States government on suspicion of sedition.

At this point, one might rightfully ask: Where had the impecunious stableboy gotten funds to engage for his defense such eminent counsel? Although the answer to this question is not in the records, a hint as to the possible source of these funds was given during Crenshaw's trial when Police Officer Gard was asked if he, Officer Gard, had promised co-Defendant Fatty Mendell to obtain competent counsel for the men arrested for the murder of Doctor Tong if Mendell kept quiet about certain monies taken out of a trunk found in a certain Chinese apartment during the night of the massacre. At this time, Officer Gard emphatically denied that he had at any time made such an offer to Mendell or anyone else. It could be, of course, that Colonel E. J. C. Kewen actually took Curly Crenshaw and his fellow-rioters' case out of pure love for a

fight against the hated Chinese, as he had not been appointed by the court to defend the stableboy.

At any rate, it appears that when Colonel Kewen took up the legal cudgel in favor of Crenshaw, he knew what he was doing, whether he was well paid for it or not; for Mr. Kewen either knew before he undertook to represent Curly, or found out very soon thereafter, that there was something involving Curly's charges which, if manipulated correctly, could result in nothing except the ultimate freeing of his client.

What Colonel Kewen came to know was that the indictment against Curly Crenshaw and the rest of the rioters had in it a colossal flaw. That is, whereas the indictment charged Crenshaw with having helped murder Doctor Chien Lee Tong, this indictment failed to establish that the doctor had been murdered at all. In short, Crenshaw was about to be tried on charges of having helped murder a man who before the law was not alleged to have been murdered at all, however dead the doctor might have been after having been shot through the mouth and hanged on October 24.

This flaw in the indictment was a technicality which had apparently escaped the notice of every one, including non-lawyer, six-weeks-on-the-bench Judge Robert Widney, and the district attorney, Cameron E. Thom, a brother-Confederate of E. J. C. Kewen who left Los Angeles to fight with the boys in gray during the Civil War. Kewen, of course, said not a word about the fault in the indictment, and went on to see his client Crenshaw convicted of manslaughter by a jury of his peers.

Attorney Kewen, who was once described by Major Horace Bell as a "shrewd practitioner," then quietly went on to defend the other ten rioters, who, of course, were all providentially charged exactly as Crenshaw had been charged — on the same faulty indictment.

On March 17, 1872, almost a month after Curly was found guilty of manslaughter, the trial of the other ten rioters began before Judge Widney. It had been found necessary to hold an extra session of the District Court in March to handle the cases.

At first, a jury could not be selected, with a full two hundred and fifty prospective talesmen being examined before twelve were chosen. Then the trial began; a repetition of Crenshaw's trial, only this time with ten defendants instead of one, making the trial an unusually long one.

In fact, the rioters' case went on for so long that the wife of one of the jurors wrote to the *Los Angeles Daily News* complaining that it was hardly fair that her juryman husband should be locked

up night after night in a hotel room, with a deputy sheriff guarding the door, while most of the men who were being tried were running around town free on bail. Was there no bail for the jurors?

The jury before whom the rioters was being tried, however, was not being kept as separated from the rest of humanity as a jury is kept now, because its bailiff, J. M. Baldwin, the man who had made a speech in Spanish to the rioters, and who had since been appointed a deputy by the new sheriff, William Rowland, took it on jaunts about the city of Los Angeles during court recesses. At one time, deputy Baldwin even took the jurors on a visit to the office of the *Los Angeles Daily News*, a newspaper that was clamoring for the convictions of the defendants now on trial before the visiting jury. No one made objections to these remarkable trips being taken by the jury; neither Judge Widney, District Attorney Cameron Thom, or Defense Attorney Kewen.

Finally, at two o'clock one morning, after the attorneys involved in the case had argued for a full nine hours (that shrewd practitioner Kewen apparently wanted to appear to be putting on a good show), the rumped jury returned from its deliberations with a verdict of "guilty of manslaughter" against eight of the ten defendants. The newspapers of Los Angeles were jubilant. The escutcheon of their fair city had been cleansed.

The *Los Angeles Daily News* said: "It had been the universal belief of the entire country that a conviction of the perpetrators of the outrage that cast a blot upon the fair name of our city could never be obtained in this county!" But there it was. Only Adolph Celis and D. W. Moody had been exonerated by the jury. All others had been found guilty.

Once convicted, the punishment of the rioters was swift. On March 30, 1872, they were brought before Judge Robert M. Widney for sentencing — just five months and six days from the time Widney had faced the enraged mob at the Chinese massacre, of which the men now before him had been members. Judge Widney promptly sent them to the state's prison in San Quentin for terms ranging from two to six years each. Shoemaker Johnson and Fatty Mendell received the longest "stretches."

At the time they were receiving their sentences, all of the convicts, with the exception of one, spoke to Judge Widney of their innocence. The one who said nothing was the inscrutable Fatty Mendell. As for Shoemaker Johnson; he was the most vociferous in his protestations of innocence, throwing something of a "fit" in front of Judge Widney. Of this bit of dramatic appeal, the *Los An-*

geles Daily said: "Johnson endeavored to play off insanity, but signally failed."

A few weeks after having been sentenced, all of the convicted rioters excepting Refugio Botello were transported to San Quentin by Sheriff William Rowland. Mr. Botello got to stay home pending the appeal already prepared by E. J. C. Kewen by raising the necessary money for a bond by selling some property he owned in the city.

IX



AFTER "CURLY" CRENSHAW ET AL had been packed off to the state's prison, the *Los Angeles Daily News* observed: "There are others equally as guilty — the men who reaped the spoils. These the law cannot touch unless they criminate themselves, and they will evidently escape the punishment they so justly merit."

Of course, if the *News* had been really serious in its reported concern about other Angelenos who were equally as guilty as the men who even now were aboard the paddlewheel steamer "*California*" on their way to San Quentin, it should have continued its complaint by adding: And here is a list of all those the grand jury indicted, and at this point we would like to ask: Why have these persons not been brought before the bar of justice?

The answer to this hypothetical question probably lies in the fact that a great many people of consequence in Los Angeles were probably included in the list of grand jury indictments, even probably including a fellow-journalist: H. M. Mitchell of the *Los Angeles Star*.

There was at least one person in Los Angeles, however, who could still be safely prosecuted as having been involved in the late riot. That was Sam Yuen, and the *News* went after him. Why hadn't the leader of the Nin Yung Company been arrested? Hadn't there been a warrant out for his arrest as long ago as last November? Well, the warrant had been lost. Then, get another one, it was argued. So a new warrant was issued.

But Sam Yuen apparently still had some powerful friends in the police department; and no particular effort was made to catch him. At this point, the *News* began to print editorials about "suspicious" negligence on the part of the police when it came to arresting Sam Yuen.

It is interesting to note that about the same time that the *Los Angeles Daily News* began to put on the pressure to get Sam Yuen arrested, the leader of the Nin Yung Company was quietly going

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about working up a huge law suit against the city of Los Angeles in an effort to recover the value of the property he had lost during the riot. But there may be no connection between the fact that the *News* suddenly decided that some effort should be made to pack Sam Yuen off to San Quentin — and the fact that the Oriental was at that time entering into a civil litigation against the city of Los Angeles.

Anyway, nobody in the Los Angeles police department could be found who would arrest Yuen, so matters went along in that fashion for a few weeks, with the *News* constantly harping about Sam Yuen running around loose while there was a warrant out for his arrest.

Then, as fate would have it, Officer Estevan Sanchez, the mounted policeman who had run out of ammunition on the afternoon of the riot, resigned his post, and a young man named Macey Hartley was appointed to take his place. Here now was a brand-new officer on the Los Angeles police force; a man with whom Sam Yuen had not had time to cement a fast friendship — and within seventy two hours after having had his star pinned on his vest by the City Council Board of Police, Officer Hartley had the owner of the Wing Chung store in jail.

Sam Yuen was promptly brought into court. And who turned out to be the star witness in his favor? None other than Policeman Jesus Bilderrain, who testified that whereas at one time (right around November 26, 1871, to be exact) he had felt that Sam Yuen had been connected with the shooting of citizen Robert Thompson, that he no longer felt that way. Obviously, both Sam Yuen and Officer Bilderrain had in the meantime come to realize that each one had made a terrible mistake on the lamentable afternoon of October 24. A jury quickly found Sam Yuen innocent of having been implicated in the murder of Robert Thompson.

X

IN MARCH, 1872, at the same time that the rioters were being tried in Los Angeles for the sensational murder of the eighteen citizens of the Chinese Empire during the riot of the previous October, there was held in Sacramento a conclave of lawmakers (and a Constitutional Convention as well) for the purpose of restating and codifying all of the laws of the state of California. This meant, of course, that Section 14 as amended of the Act Concerning Crimes and Punishments, which included Chinese among those declared incompetent to testify in court in any case

involving a "white" man, would come up for review and restatement.

Here now was a dilemma for the lawmakers at Sacramento. The awesome results of Section 14 of the Act Concerning Crimes and Punishments as evidenced by the massacre of Chinese at Los Angeles a few months before were at that very time racking the national conscience. The entire country was watching the trials of the rioters at the Angel City.

But at the same time, there was mounting in California a terrific pressure against the Chinese residents of the state, and no politician in his right mind dared lift his voice on any issue which might tab him as being even remotely pro-Chinese — such as venturing to say that the law which placed the Chinese in California outside the protection of the courts should be repealed. What to do then? The California law against the Chinese was not only contrary to the laws of humanity, but was also contrary to the spirit of the Burlingame Treaty, thereby jeopardizing America's reputation among the nations of the world. But then (and first!) there was the local vote to consider.

This knotty problem was solved by the California legislators in a manner so ingeniously smooth and silent that the electorate of the state did not even become aware that the legal status of the Chinese had been touched at all. That is, no heroic lawmaker stood up to sternly shout that the law of 1863 should be repealed as inhuman and as a detriment to the national standing — and no vote-cadging politician got up to argue that it should NOT be repealed.

But, when the new codes went into effect nine months later, on January 1, 1873, the extraordinary law placing scores of thousands of residents of the state of California outside the protection of the courts was not in them. It had simply been left out. Political magic had been made at Sacramento.

Now comes Sam Yuen himself, of his own free will, before the Seventeenth Judicial District court, to allege before a jury and Judge Robert M. Widney, that the city of Los Angeles, a corporation duly formed under the laws of the state of California, owed him a sum equal to the value of all the property he had lost at Negro Alley during the riot and looting of the Chinese quarters in said city of Los Angeles at approximately 9:00 p. m. on October 24, 1871, said riot and looting having taken place due to negligence on the part of the constituted authorities of the aforementioned city of Los Angeles.

At first blush, it looked like an airtight case in favor of the owner of the Wing Chung store, for even the Los Angeles County

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Grand Jury had flatly charged that at the time of the riot, "the officers of this county, as well as of this city, whose duty it is to preserve the peace and to arrest those who are violating the law, were deplorably inefficient . . ." — and if that was true, the city of Los Angeles was liable.

But Sam Yuen lost his case — the jury finding that whereas it might be true that the city authorities had been negligent on the night of the riot, that Yuen could not recover for his damages because not only had he instigated the riot, but had also participated in it.

Furthermore, the jury held, even if it could be argued that Yuen had not instigated the riot or participated in it, he had failed to comply with a section of the law under which he was now seeking to recover for his losses by his not having taken "reasonable diligence" to notify the sheriff of the county or the mayor of the city that a riot had been impending on the afternoon of October 24, 1871.

Yuen's attorneys promptly appealed the case to the supreme court of the state, arguing that the instigators of the riot during which their client's property had been destroyed or stolen had been such men as "King of the Depot," that flaming orator, and Refugio Botello — leaders of a violent mob which had been negligently allowed to form in the vicinity of Negro Alley by the police. And as to Sam Yuen having participated in the riot — how could that be held when the owner of the Wing Chung store had fled with much speed from the vicinity of Negro Alley a full four hours before the riot had taken place?


But, argued Attorney Henry Hazard (one of the civilian heroes at the time of the massacre) on behalf of his client, the city of Los Angeles — had not Sam Yuen failed to take reasonable diligence, as called for by the law, to notify the sheriff of the county or the mayor of the city that a riot had been impending? That had been hardly necessary, Yuen's lawyers countered, as both the sheriff and the mayor had been present at the scene of the impending riot, and had both seen with their own eyes the armed crowd surrounding the Coronel Block; a gathering that could hardly have been confused with one at a Sunday picnic.

But the supreme court was not prepared to open a Pandora's Box of lawsuits against California cities instigated by residents of the state who, by virtue of their being social and political pariahs, were the natural prey of rioters and desperate characters.

Thus, although the riot which had resulted in loss of property for Sam Yuen had not started until 9:00 p. m. on October 24, 1871,

the supreme court held that since Yuen had shot at Officer Bilderrain and others four hours before — that he had, then and there and at one and the same time, instigated and participated in the riot. Therefore, he could not recover for his losses.

XI

N MAY 21, 1873, a little more than a year after Curly Crenshaw and the other rioters had been sent to San Quentin, the supreme court summarily reversed the Los Angeles jury's verdict which had sent them to prison. The reversing opinion was short and to the point. It stated:

The indictment in this case is fatally defective in that it fails to allege that Chee Long Tong was murdered.

There is was. Just as that shrewd practitioner E. J. C. Kewen had thought all along — and less than three weeks after the supreme court had reversed the verdict which had been rendered in his court, Judge Robert M. Widney issued an order discharging the rioters from custody.

It is quite probable that the discharged prisoners all came back to their old haunts in the open-city of Los Angeles after having been let out through the front door of the San Quentin prison — but if they did, at least one apparently did not stay. That was Shoemaker A. R. Johnson. The next thing we hear about him is that he was in San Bernardino County, where he became a preacher of the gospel.

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The Church by the Plaza

A History of the Pueblo Church of Los Angeles

By J. Thomas Owen

(Continued from the March QUARTERLY)

PART II



WHEN THE SKIES CLEARED, a water-soaked Los Angeles laid itself out in the sun to dry. In and about the town were flooded cellars, badly washed adobe dwellings, minus one or more walls, and the upper portions of the church's *fachada* lay strewn about *Calle Principal*. In spite the damage incurred, the church continued to be used, but the necessity of a new facade must have been very apparent: January, and a rainy January made the church even colder than usual.

But when the Angelenos began to rebuild their church's facade, they did not attempt to "restore" it in any sense of the word. The rains had very conveniently damaged the "old fashioned" Spanish facade — what better excuse was needed to replace it with an elegant new one? Down came the remains of the adobe *fachada*, and in its place one very much changed in appearance arose. Adobe was becoming passé as a building material, so fired red brick — that is, the variety with which we are familiar today — was used.

Where the curved gable had been, there now rose a low triangular pediment which was flanked by two pointed buttresses. These buttresses, and several like them added in 1869, are still a feature of the facade today. They greatly resemble "Cleopatra's Needles," but they may have been copied from English Gothic models of that day. To the immediate left and right of the new arched doorway were two pilasters of somewhat Doric design. These in turn supported a strip of ornamental moulding which ran horizontally about half way up the new facade. Parallel to this was a similar strip several feet above it. Hemmed in between these mouldings were two small windows which lighted the choir. The new

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facade was covered with decorative plaster which was finished to represent large blocks of cut stone. Although the *brea* roofing material had thus far proved rather unsatisfactory, it was used again with the newly constructed facade, or it may have been the pre-rains roof with its leaks patched up.

There is good reason to believe that the old *campanario* was not damaged with the falling of the *fachada*. Recessed backward at least a foot, it was joined not to the facade, but to the southern wall of the church where it was comparatively safe from the debris which is said to have fallen in heaps on Main Street.

Although there is little written material on the newly remodeled facade, there is some pertaining to the *campanario*, but all of it has come into print many years after the changes occurred. Harris Newmark, writing before 1913, made this brief comment: "... some alterations were made in the tower..."¹ About ten years later, Rexford Newcomb, who did a Master's thesis on the architecture of California's mission churches, had this to say: "... the original (*campanario*) fell into decay and did not survive the restoration of 1861."² This comment is interesting for the famous scholar was fooled. Part of the "belfry," as he called it and saw it, was a portion of the original which *did* survive the remodeling done in 1861. During the early 1930's Miss Marie T. Walsh actually viewed the remaining part of the old *campanario*, supposedly long gone, which had only been forgotten about until she "re-discovered" it and wrote about it:

There were three (niches or arches for the bells), long and narrow... about five and a half to six feet from the ground. This seems an exaggerated statement, but some old-timers have truly related that the bells hung so low that they could touch them as they passed beneath them. In those days, too, the pueblo itself was not so large, and there was no need for the bells to hang too high when their echoes did not have to sound so far away. The arches are still in good condition on the interior of the wall... At the time of their use... they were of uniform size, but only the north arch has kept its old dimensions, the other two having (been) blocked off several inches. The north arch measures six feet, eleven inches in height, two feet less two inches in width and one foot, five inches in depth (plus the plaster that blocks it from view on the exterior).³

Just what the 1861 remodelers did to the old *campanario* is not yet completely clear, but considerable can still be said of the remodeling. Remembering back to the time of the dedication in 1822, there was then a low *campanario*, with three tall niches on the lower level, and one wider, but much shorter, centered above

these. This structure remained intact until the rains of December, 1860, or the repair work done in 1861. As suggested by Dr. Rexford Newcomb, this upper portion may have sustained decay, or it could have been damaged by the falling *fachada*. Both of these are possible, but not very plausible explanations. This writer is inclined to think that the upper niche may have been removed *purposely* in order to make the old *campanario* conform a little more gracefully with the new facade. For, with the removal of the stair-stepped gable, this *campanario* lost its distinctive "missionly" appearance. The remaining lower three niches, possibly garnished with a gothically-pointed arch atop them, were decked out to serve with the new facade. Things must have been somewhat crowded, for there were now just three niches for the church's five bells. Today these niches have iron hooks for but four bells, and even this must have been a tight-fitting situation, for the sides of the central niche are grooved where the rim of one of the bells left its imprint.

A word about the "gothic arch" on the portion of the *campanario*. When the upper niche was removed, the remaining lower portion must have had a rather rough looking appearance. To alleviate this, a new top of light plaster — which has since disappeared — may have been placed on top of the old wall to give it a more finished look.

Pictorially these niches have an interesting history as well. Going back to March of 1850, H. M. T. Powell sketched a sort of panorama view of the pueblo, and at its center he placed the church. When this portion was enlarged, the belfry with all four of its niches (three on the lower level, and the smaller niche atop) stood out boldly. Some time after this, but before 1860, the old photograph in the Judge Hayes diaries was made. Unfortunately, this view was made looking southward, but at such a severe angle that only one of the lower niches shows fully, and a small portion of the stair-stepped gable. About 1861 what is known as the "first photograph of the plaza" was made, and in this the three niches, minus their upper member appear in one corner. Again in 1869 the remaining three were photographed by Edward Vischer. Although by that time they had been partially filled in with plaster, their outlines were still discernable.

Plastering in the early 'seventies hid them permanently from view on the exterior, and they remained covered until well into the twentieth century. By the early 1930's much of this plaster was coming off and the outlines of the old niches were again visible — and remained so until about 1950 when the entire exterior of the church was plastered. In August of 1959 they again made a photo-

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graphic appearance, but this time they were viewed from their 'hind side. With the aid of a wide-angle lens all three of the niches were photographed from within the room off the baptistry.

To further embellish the newly remodeled church, Henri Joseph Pénélon, a resident artist, was commissioned to fresco it. As the name implies, M. Pénélon was French, but was often known to the Angelenos by the more Spanish "Horatio" or often "Honore" — neither of which translates to "Henry," but are closer facsimiles of the French than *Enrique*. Very little is known of this pioneer artist and photographer, save for a few scattered comments and perhaps a dozen of his paintings which have survived the ravages of time. In 1861 he was just thirty-four years of age,⁴ and the church at Los Angeles may very well have been his first attempt at church decoration. According to Harris Newmark, M. Pénélon did fresco work on *both* the exterior and the interior of the church.⁵

The mural work on the exterior has suffered from lack of commentary as well as exposure to the elements. About twenty years ago a description was made of the remaining frescos, which at that time were about eighty years old. As it is doubtful that repairs were ever made on them, they were by then in a sorry state.

Over the round arch of the recessed entrance between the two windows, and in medallions on both sides of the (doorway) arch are small oblongs with figures incised in the cement (plaster), all that remains of distemper-murals done by Henri Penelon in 1861.⁶

The medallions to the left and right of the doorway have completely disappeared, and their subjects are not definitely known. From older pictures one would assume that they were figures, possibly with wings, kneeling and looking upward in adoration toward *Our Lady*. The large central mural, as mentioned above, was located between the two windows of the choir, and was of *Our Lady* and two angels. Enlargements of this fresco indicate that *Our Lady* was holding the infant *Christ*. Like the oval medallions, this, too, must have been incised into the plaster of the facade, with its colors applied to the plaster while it was still damp. These murals, or what was left of them, were visible until about 1950 when lath was nailed to the exterior of the church, and the entire building was plastered. Prior to this they had been painted over, but in spite of these temporary coverings, they still emerged, their colors vague but traceable outlines remaining to tantalize the imagination. Owing to their composition, they may yet outlast even the plaster.

Also of interest on the facade are three tablets with incised inscriptions which have lasted intact down to the present. Although called marble by one early writer, it would appear today that were

just of plaster.⁷ There are three of these, and the lettering today is in black, but a comment of Judge Benjamin Hayes about of the facade's inscriptions being "gilt," could mean that these tablets at one time had gold-colored lettering as well.⁸ As one faces the facade of the church, the tablet on the left reads: "*DIOS TE SALVE MARIA, LLENA DE GRACIA*" (Hail Mary, full of grace). These are the opening words of the "*Hail Mary*." The central and largest of the three: "*EL SEÑOR ESTA EN SU SANTO TEMPLO CALLE LA TIERRA ANTE SU ACATAMIENTO*" (The Lord is in His Holy Temple, let all the earth keep silence before Him). This comes from the *Book of Habbakuk* in the *Old Testament*, the second chapter, twentieth verse. The tablet on the right: "*SANTA MARIA MADRE DE DIOS RUEGA POR NOSOTROS PECADORES*" (Holy Mary, Mother of God, Pray for us, sinners). This also comes from the "*Hail Mary*." No accent marks are included, but in the first inscription there is a comma, and periods are found in the central and right hand inscription. Over the *N* of "Señor" in the central block there is the usual diacritical marking, and this text is followed by its source.

A fourth inscription was also placed on the facade, and this one has been mentioned considerably by writers down through the years. Located on the lower of the two strips of decorative moulding, it ran the full length of the strip: "*LOS FIELES DE ESTA PARROQUIA A LA REINA DE LOS ANGELES, 1861*" (The faithful of this parish to the Queen of the Angels, 1861). This inscription shows to some extent in most of the early pictures of the present facade, but only under the scrutiny of a magnifying glass or enlargement of the photograph. Paint obliterated this long inscription, as also did water, dripping from the projecting part of the cornice just above it.

Concerning the "*Los Fieles*" inscription, folk-lore has woven a most interesting tale:

... the Father who projected this edifice ... called upon the wealthier among his parish to furnish funds for the undertaking; but meeting with an indifferent response, he took the matter to the parishioners at large, and in small contributions secured enough to proceed. When the church was at last completed, he told the decorator to paint the inscription, ('a los pobres de esta parroquia'), 'to the poor of this parish' — so it stood many years. It may be, however, that the more wealthy, stung by this constant reproach, eventually made good, and had the inscription changed, for it certainly reads now ('los fieles') — 'the faithful'; maybe that includes the rich as the poor.¹⁰

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Of the fresco work on the interior, virtually nothing is known. The two large angels on the spandrels of the Sanctuary arch, are perhaps the most interesting feature of the interior, and tradition says that they were the work of the Frenchman. Unfortunately, these angels came to an end in 1913 when the original Sanctuary was removed to accommodate a lengthened nave. The angel on the left portion of the spandrel (facing the Sanctuary) held two large tablets with the traditional numerals representing the Ten Commandments, while the one on the right held what appears to have been a large Bible. It is also possible that the ornately framed Stations of the Cross were the work of this artist as well. These are presently doing service in a church in Northern Mexico, but it is hoped that they will eventually be returned.

On the interior was yet another inscription, and this also was on the aforementioned Sanctuary arch: "*REYNA DE LOS ANGELES RUEGA POR NOSOTROS*," "Queen of the Angels, pray for us."

During the 'nineties, August Wey, author of an early article in *The Land of Sunshine*, on the church, spoke of "... angels, as ministers of God are suggested everywhere. Bowed angels guard the altar; frescoed angels recline above it."¹¹ The "bowed angels" were the two white marble angels which are yet to be seen at the church; the "reclining angels" of frescoed origin were probably the work of M. Pénélon.

When the fresco work was completed, the Angelenos must have been duly proud of their remodeled church, which on both the interior as well as the exterior, bore little resemblance to the "old" and "dated" church that the rains had so conveniently damaged for them. It is curious though, that the Angelenos of that day did not notice that their French artist had misspelled a word in his newly finished inscriptions... well, not exactly "misspelled," he was just a bit inconsistent with the spellings he used. Looking back, it is not difficult to imagine Father Raho, the church's superior, carefully writing out the sayings in Spanish — for we do not know just how good the Frenchman's Spanish was — and after this, leaving the artist more or less to his painting. When finished, he had spelled the word queen "*REINA*" on the facade, but on the interior he spelled it "*REYNA*." The "reina" form is the modern Spanish spelling, while "reyna," the spelling in use at the time of the pueblo's founding, was the Old Spanish. Although this would have been recognizable then, it was by the 1860's somewhat archaic. However, when the plaster dried, both were there to stay.¹²

At this point the question arises as to who paid for the newly constructed facade, and the frescoed decorations of the French

painter. To refer to the facade's inscription, the costs were borne by "the faithful of this parish." But just who were these "faithful?" It is to be assumed that most of them must have been the local populace, but not all, apparently. There is a note of interest which was recorded by Judge Benjamin Hayes in his diary which sheds a little light on just who some of those faithful really were:

I (Judge Hayes) must long remember the wearisome canyon from Holcombe Valley to the mouth, from the visit I made with the Rev. Father Raho shortly before his death to Holcombe. It was then full of miners, but they were poor. Their pious contributions aided one of his dearest objects, the repair of the church at Los Angeles, which had been injured by the rains of — (December, 1860). — There is a marked significance in the gilt inscription he caused to be placed on . . . (the church's) front.¹³

In 1869 the church was again remodeled, with the end result that it had a sort of *new look* which was very much in keeping with the "Gingerbread Age." Whether the "faithful" again paid for these alterations, does not seem to be known. It is understandable though, that the faithful — those of the local parish, that is — the progeny in many cases of those for whom the church had been built, would have preferred a more *fashionable* church. Unfortunately, almost nothing is known of this grandiose remodeling, save for the photographs which have recorded the changes. Of interest, however, is a comment by William Andrew Spaulding, for not realizing it, he came very close to saying something about the situation when he wrote:

In every essential it (the church) was the same in the 'seventies as now (about 1930)."¹⁴

We might now wish that Mr. Spaulding had stated *why* the church's appearance dated from the 'seventies, rather than from the 'sixties. We might also wonder why there wasn't some severe criticism on the remodeling of the old landmark, which as will soon be seen, completely camouflaged the remaining portions of the structures earlier appearance.

Off came the church's *brea* roof, and in its place a steeply pitched roof of shakes was built. Above the facade rose a high gable, which either incorporated the old pediment, or it may have replaced it. Within it a round window, very much like the port-hole of a sailing vessel, lighted nothing but the newly constructed attic. Crowning the new gable was an iron cross of exquisite craftsmanship, which still stands over the facade today.

In the area between the baptistry and the *campanario* there began the makings of a new tower. Constructed to a great extent of

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the old *campanario*, it in time completely disguised its antecedent. Remodeling began by filling in the three remaining bell niches with plaster, thus forming a solid wall on the exterior. New construction on top of the old bell wall raised its height to match that of the facade adjacent to it. Then the southerly wall of the baptistry was extended to meet the now plastered-up *campanario*. These walls were raised to the height of the church's newly shingled eaves, where they terminated abruptly to form a platform. Upon this was built a wooden pergola-like affair, whose top-most portions greatly resembled an open umbrella. Within this flamboyant canopy, which was painted green, reposed four of the church's bells. Two more of "Cleopatra's Needles" were added: on where the old wall of the baptistry terminated, and a second just in front of it, and in line with the other two on the facade.

Just off the baptistry, there was now a new little room. Previously, this had just been "out of doors," as there had been no connection between the old *campanario* and the baptistry. The new room was small — not more than six feet square. Today it is lighted by one small window, two "portholes," and a single electric socket which dangles down from the ceiling above. Along three of the walls winds a wooden stairway to a loft which runs across the rear portion of the room about midway between the floor and the ceiling. Rising upward from this is a ladder to a trap door and the platform above. The banister and spindles of this old stairway are still a faded green — a green that was once, like the top of the pergola above, a bright and perhaps somewhat garish shade.

Fortunately, Edward Vischer photographed the church when these changes had just been made, and his pictures record at least the external portions of the remodeling. These are the earliest pictures of the church's present facade, and are easily identified because of the new white plaster which had not yet received its finish of ornamental blocks. The three niches, now filled with plaster, the new construction on top of them, and the steep gable end, all have a dark white appearance, while the older (1861) portions of the facade appear rather gray. Soon after Mr. Vischer photographed the building, the frontal portion of the tower was plastered and finished to match the facade. As the plaster erased the niches from public view, it apparently erased them from the memories of the town's people as well.¹⁵

When the steep shaked (shingled) roof was constructed, a new ceiling was probably placed within the church as well. Unfortunately, this new ceiling necessitated the removal of the church's original beams — beams that legend says were placed there by

"Pirate Joe" Chapman back in 1821-22. About thirty of these great beam-ends are still embedded within the walls of the older portion of the side-walls today, and all of them have been sawed off to permit added height of the new ceiling. This ceiling, which was rounded upwards at its sides, was stained a dark wood color. At intervals great bracketed gas chandliers were suspended from it for illumination. Those of the nave had twelve gas jets each with frilled glass shades, while smaller, similar chandliers hung in the transepts. Two large gas-powered candelabrum were affixed to the Sanctuary arch pillars which matched in style those of the nave. As gas was introduced in 1867,¹⁶ these must have some of those fashionable improvements of 1869.

With this remodeling, the church probably acquired its first set of pews; for this church, like the mission churches, had no pews during its first forty-odd years of existence. These pews served until the early 1940's when they were replaced by some of newer design. The older pews were of solid oak, and many toward the frontal part of the church had small doors; each being reserved for a particular family. After their long years of service at the old church they were not discarded, but continued to serve.

A little searching proved that many of these old oaken pews are still in existence today. When they were taken from the church, some of them went to Gutierrez and Weber Mortuary at 818 North Broadway. Recently this group was refinished, and their high backs removed in order to give them a more modern appearance. Mr. Jess Aguilar, of the above named mortuary, told of the many coats of varnish which the old pews had acquired — and that it had required *weeks* of work in order to remove it prior to refinishing them. Despite their age, these pews have been beautifully redone, and are a credit to the mortuary.

Still more pews were either given by the church, or they may have been given by the mortuary to the tiny church of San Conrado, 1809 Bouett Street. These pews have not been refinished, nor have they been modernized. Their high, straight backs with ornamental finials intact, are just the way they left the church about twenty years ago.

Further remodeling on the interior may have included the neo-classic high altar with a matching side altar in the south transept. The northern transept held the pulpit at the crossing point, and a portion of its area was blocked off and used as a passageway to the sacristy, which at that time was in the area formed by the cruciformity on the north side of the church. The high altar consisted of four stylized Doric columns which supported a highly decorated

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pediment. Below this "temple front" reredos was the usual many stepped Victorian altar. During this period the two large marble angels which still kneal to the left and right of the altar today were probably acquired.

To the right of the Sanctuary in the crossing was a raised pulpit. Entered by several steps, it was a movable affair, often being placed in position for preaching, and then rolled back into the north transept when not in use. Confessionals were kept in the southern transept during this period, but it would be assumed that during the early years of the church's being, that they were in the rear of the church under the choir.

Neither the confessionals nor the pulpit were part of the building's original furnishings, but like the "temple front" altars, the gas chandliers, the pews, a set of Victorian Sanctuary lamps, a new altar railing of classical styling, belonged to this later period of acquisitions. At this point one wonders if the church during its first forty years of existence owned many furnishings. We do know that *San Vicente* graced the chapel through those empty years, and a handful of paintings, some of which are still at the church, others are on display at San Gabriel. Other than these slim ties with the pre-1860 days, the church's one great legacy is its structure; although remodeled, has still continued to survive and to serve.

Unfortunately, but a handful of photographs remain today to tell of this remodeling of the old church. On the exterior, it had become a somewhat English Gothic building, with a decidedly new face to present to the world; on the interior, frescoed angels attributed to M. Pénélon hovered before the high altar. With the French artist, another name is associated with this remodeling. Sylvester Grant was the local contractor who worked on the flamboyant belfry with its bright green top, and may also have worked on the wooden altars, the new ceiling, and the roof of shakes. Mr. Grant was an uncle of Ana Bégué de Packman; Secretary Emeritus of the *Historical Society of Southern California*.

Until the middle 1870's the old pueblo church was the only Catholic church in the city, and there is good reason to believe that the 1822 house of worship (with possible additions in the early 1840's) must have been somewhat over-crowded housing the 1870 Catholic population. And, since 1859, the church had served as the pro-cathedral (temporary cathedral) for the Diocese of Los Angeles and Monterey, a function it could not indefinitely perform. By 1871 plans were in the offing for the Cathedral of Saint Vibiana which was dedicated in 1876.¹⁷ The new Cathedral was only a matter of a few blocks down Main Street from the old church, but then the new

church was somewhat out by itself. At that time, Main Street still boasted fine residences, set far apart with fine, wide lawns. The business district was still confined to the area between the Plaza, First Street, and Spring Street, but it would soon begin to push southward down Main Street as well. Amid a great processional, the body of the patron saint was taken from the old church, and carried to the new Cathedral built in her honor.

With the dedication of the Cathedral, a chapter closed at the older church. The pueblo church of yesterday continued to be the church of many of the older residents, but the *gringo* population made their way to the new and very élite Cathedral several blocks to the south. In time the old church became the parish of the many Mexican-Americans who made their homes in that area, in which capacity it serves today.

As the nineteenth century pushed to its end, name problems began to plague the little church. As it was not a "mission," this presented a problem in public relations with the tourist. And, as every tourist knows about "missions," it may have seemed quite logical to call this old Spanish Colonial church by that name as well. Now, some ninety years after the first of the "mission" literature began to circulate, many city maps locate the pueblo church with the name "Mission Church." But the name problem goes deeper than this, for down through the years the little church has been known by quite a collection of names.

The first real tampering with the name was done in 1861, when "los fieles" added the word "reina" to its formal title. The end result was that the church of *Nuestra Señora de los Angeles* became the church of *Nuestra Señora la Reyna de los Angeles*. Liturgically speaking, *Our Lady of the Angels* and *Our Lady Queen of the Angels*, mean exactly the same thing.

As noted earlier in the Death records, the church was sometimes called by its full name, "*La Iglesia de Nuestra Señora de los Angeles*," or on other occasions simply, "the church of this city." One early writer referred to the church as the "adobe cathedral,"¹⁸ while another simply called it the "Los Angeles Mission."¹⁹ And under the name of "The Los Angeles Mission Chapel" it appeared in many pictures and guide books of that day. Some early writers, not wanting to call it a "mission," called it instead a "chapel,"²⁰ while others used its long Victorianized name of "*Nuestra Señora la Reyna de los Angeles*" — and sometimes said little more than this in their slender volumes for the tourist. As literature of this type persisted, Los Angeles "acquired" a mission.

Out of this period of confusion over name and status, the name

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"Old Mission Plaza Church" was born, and from this lengthy collection of names has come the beloved one by which so many Angelinos now know the building, that of "The Old Plaza Church." Born perhaps of incessant efforts to call the church a "mission," born also perhaps because the formal name was such a long one, and garnished with the name of the park which the coming of the church formalized into being. This name is better known today than the formal one under which the church was dedicated.

In addition to the names cited above, August Wey made an entire listing of what, "American parlance," as he called it, had done to the church's name: "'Our Lady' Church, 'Church of the Angels,' 'Father Liébana's Church (Father Liébana was superior at the church from 1890 to 1903), and the 'Adobe Church.'"²¹ Today, when communicating with the church by 'phone a cheery voice will answer, "Old Mission Plaza" — somewhat incorrect, but effective in both English and Spanish.

In the vast sea of romantically historical literature which abounds library shelves and concerns California's Missions, one may find scattered paragraphs given over to the "old church at Los Angeles," "the Los Angeles Mission," or the "Los Angeles Chapel." Unfortunately, the historical worth of many of these bits is *nil*. But should one be searching out material on this church's illustrious neighbor, Mission San Gabriel, the task is a far simpler one. Its bells have been lauded in poetry and song; its building praised by architects; its history, the subject of numerous fine volumes. *In the shadow of all this stands the Plaza Church today.*

Lacking good written history, the building has suffered in the literary realm as well as the historical. Repeated remodelings eventually robbed the building of its "Spanish" appearance, and when this disappeared the interest of the writer, the architect and the historian waned. Not being a "mission," it was relegated to the sideline, as the ever-present tourist came to California to see missions — among other things — and not Victorianized pueblo churches of the Spanish Colonial Period. Unfortunately, no single volume deals with this church's varied history — the first of which should have come fifty-some years ago, when living memories could still reach back to the latter years of the Mexican period. At the hands of the architect, blithely unaware of the building's alterations, it has suffered because of erroneous statements.

In the light of these deficiencies, samplings of writings, representing a span of about ninety years, are quoted here. In a tragic sense, they give a critically truthful picture of the badly neglected landmark.

During the 'seventies of the last century, the best and only available writing on the "country town of the Angels"²² was published in German by Ludwig Luis Salvator, Archduke of Austria, a writer of note in his day. After a visit to Los Angeles, he authored a small volume entitled *Los Angeles in the Sunny Seventies, A Flower From the Golden Land*. Although small, it still gave a very revealing picture of the town as the Archduke saw it, and also what he thought of it. This was many years before things Spanish were considered historical, and to the titled European writer, they must have seemed a trifle provincial at times. He had this to say of the Plaza Church:

What is known as the Los Angeles Mission (sic) was established shortly after the pueblo was founded, for the benefit of Spanish soldiers in the new settlement. This church is still standing near the Southern (?) end of the city at the plaza. Its facade is bleak and unattractive; within is a flat ceiling supported on either side by four columns (pilasters) . . .²³

He also noted that a "splendid new cathedral" had just been completed, and with this thought summed things up for the old church. The "bleak and unattractive" facade was still new when the Archduke viewed it.

Jumping forward about forty years, the comments of a noted art-historian state quite clearly what "modernization" was doing for the old building:

Architecturally the church is not imposing . . . The interior is especially marred by the indiscriminate use of electric lights . . .²⁴

The "electric lights" referred to were placed on the underside of the transept arches, and the various arches of the 1913 addition to the church. These lights were just bare bulbs, lined up side by side, very much like a theater marqu  e. Fortunately, this author never saw the neon strips which were later placed on these same side arches, which ran like the tracks of a roller-coaster up one side and down the other. At a still later date, these side aisles were lighted by curious chandeliers of exposed fluorescent tubes, hung vertically in groups of four from the ceiling. "Spanish" chandeliers of both brass and wrought iron have held their sway where the large gas chandeliers once reigned. The cited writer concluded his comments with, "it appeared very much like the average modern Catholic church in many of our smaller towns . . ."²⁵ Ironically, at that time, this "modern Catholic church" had just passed its one hundredth birthday.

With a lack of formal historical writing dealing with the church, the tourist or guide book type of volume not only has suf-

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ferred, but has been almost non-existent. Too few facts which the tourist could associate with the building may have been one stumbling block. Liberal inclusion of erroneous material has marked much of the writing in this vein on the landmark. And when it came to writing about a building which just didn't "look" historical, many simply remarked that the old church was "there," and passed quickly on to more fertile ground. One guide book of 1932 had some very definite words on the sad state of the church and its decor:

The ladies now joined us and we learned that they had not spent much time in the badly done over interior of the little church . . . — (and their guide called their attention) — . . . to the large pictures of angels on the facade, in quaint groupings now obscured under cement paint which some fool tried to obliterate them . . .²⁶

Unfortunately, these visitors knew something of the church's fascinating history, but were sadly disappointed with the state of what remained. As there were other buildings of interest, the little church was quickly passed over, and glowing paragraphs followed on other of the Plaza area's landmarks.

In 1958 a new volume appeared on the architecture of California's missions, and Plaza Church was dealt with in the usual manner:

The little pueblo church of *Nuestra Senora de los Angeles*, better known as the Plaza Church, has a very simple and not too well planned facade. It has the arched door, and on each side a slender, half-round, smooth pilaster. Dividing the facade horizontally is a moulding, and above it are two rectangular windows. In the pediment, or gable, there is a circular window. Beyond these features there is little to suggest any particular style.²⁷

Although the description is accurate enough, no allowance was made for the fact that this so-called "Spanish facade" dates from the 'sixties, and was intended *not* to appear Spanish! If it has little style, it is perhaps because of too many remodelings which have been alien to its present structural appearance.

However, all the church's literary comment is not quite so dismal. At the request of the author, Mrs. Ana Bégué de Packman, formerly a member of this parish, writes of her memories of a Sunday morning during the pastorate of Fr. M. Liébana. The date would have been the early 'nineties, and she was then a child of ten or twelve years.

Loudly pealed the bells of *Nuestra Senora la Reyna de los Angeles* calling los fieles to High Mass. Sunday morning at a quarter to ten. This was the first call. Youngsters at High Mass were frowned upon unless accompanied by their elders. The children's Mass was at nine o'clock. There was hushed silence as the church began to fill from the side door. Don Juan Forrester

and Don Reginaldo del Valle ushered in the congregation. The parishioners hastened to be on time. Padre Liebana, in his Spanish austerity, did not tolerate tardiness — he admonished the stragglers from the pulpit.

Just before the Padre ascended the altar, one usher unlocked the reserved velour-cushioned pews down front and the other through the open front doors and invited the sunbeams to filter in and compete with the flickering candle light on the altar.

Los fieles de la parroquia came from all directions. From Boyle Heights rode in the families William H. Workman, John Lazzarevich, George Cummings, and Richard Moloney.

The French colony spread over First, Aliso, and Macy Streets. This was within walking distance to the church or maybe a ride in the horse-drawn street car that ran on Aliso Street. Early to Mass came Martin V. Biscailuz, Roman Grand, Jean Begue, then the grand and great grand children of the former mayor, Don Jose Mascarel: These were the Cassagne-Tavist and the Cassagne-Larquier families.

From upper Main Street strolled the Louis Sentous and Pelanconi-Tononi families. Out Buena Vista Street way came the Solanos and the Buetts.

Down from Bunker Hill rode in the Bradburys and the Etchemendy-Laronda families.

Now, close by from the Baker Block just down Main Street from the church, drove up the carriage of Dona Arcadia Bandini de Sterns-Baker and one or more of her favorite nieces. Sometimes Dora Scott, later Mrs. Carl Kurtz, or Arcadia "Caita" Scott, now Mrs. Arcadia Brennan: They lead the way.

Following came Dona Josefa del Valle de Forrester and one of her young del Valle nieces.

Down the aisle this procession reverently moved, the only sound heard was the rustle of starched petti-coats and the swishing of trained silk dresses as they swept over the rough coca matting stretched the length of the aisle over the wooden flooring. The choir loft was filled with young ladies — their sweet voices blended and filled the air. These young people were two of the Santa Cruz sisters, one of the Quirolo-Grant girls and the Bauchett sisters with their cousin Elvira Winston. At the first bars from the organ, a cadence of voices harmonized. The padre ascended the altar to celebrate the Mass.

All the families herein mentioned and many more filled to capacity the little church. They came to venerate and to worship at the church of Our Lady of the Angels.²⁸

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— Historical Collection, Los Angeles Public Library

EXTERIOR VIEW OF THE PLAZA CHURCH

*This photograph was made in 1869 by Edward Vischer.
Notice the plastered-up bell niches.*



— Historical Photo from Al Green and Associates

INTERIOR OF THE PLAZA CHURCH

*Although this photograph was made shortly after the turn of the Twentieth Century, it shows the interior of the Plaza Church as it was through the last third of the Nineteenth Century. Modernization, apparent in the photograph are the electric lights.
The large angels are attributed to the French artist, Henri Joseph Pénélon.*



— Historical Collection, Security-First National Bank

REMAINS OF OLD CAMPANARIO

South Side of Church as it appeared after 1861, with gable removed (upper photo) and the same bell niches as they appeared in August, 1959 (lower photo).



— Photograph by Frank Groetzinger

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Another lovely vignette, as told by Marie T. Walsh, gives an idea of the life of a young priest stationed at the church during the 'nineties of the last century. The young father of the story is perhaps better remembered as the late Monseignor John McCarthy, or to others as the "adobe priest." Miss Walsh tells here one of his vivid memories of the recent past at the Plaza Church.

At that time the 'old church cared for all outlying parts of the country, the newer cathedral not caring for outside calls. So it happened that once a month Monseignor McCarthy would say a six o'clock Mass at Plaza Church, hurry to the River Station and board a train for distant San Fernando. Arriving there around a quarter to nine, a Mexican would be waiting for him with a horse and buggy and would drive him to the Mission, where, presently someone with a key would arrive and unlock the old wine cellar, where Mass would be performed around a quarter to ten. After that, catechisms and baptisms would round out the morning. The padre was always invited to the López Rancho, which was about two miles from the Mission, where a grand repast would be served around one-thirty. By this time the padre would doubtless have a good appetite! After dinner the López family and their guests would retire to an *enramada* at the rear of the house and while away the afternoon with violin and guitar music and entertainment. So passeth another day, and in the evening back would go Father McCarthy to the Plaza until another month would happen along.²⁹

With the close of the 19th century, an era came to an end in the Plaza area. The old pueblo church would continue to be a link with the past, but remodeling and new décor would continue to change the building's appearance. Additions would increase its seating capacity, tile would replace shingles on its steep Victorian roof, and plaster finally spelled doom to the last of the Frenchman's murals. Unfortunately the changes and additions took a heavy toll of the building's historical personality. As 1960 dawned, it became increasingly clear that restoration was badly needed — and that it would begin with the basic understanding that the much remodeled pueblo church was *not* a mission, *and was unique because of this*.

NOTES

1. Newmark, Harris, *Sixty Years in Southern California 1853-1913*, third edition, revised, p. 293. Reprinted by permission of Mrs. Marco R. Newmark.
2. Newcomb, Rexford, *The Old Mission Churches and Historic Houses of California*, p. 192. Reprinted by permission of J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
3. Walsh, Marie T., *The Mission Bells of California*, p. 213. Reprinted by permission of Harr Wagner Publishing Company, San Francisco, California.

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4. Henri Joseph Pénélon was born in 1825.
5. Newmark, *loc. cit.*
6. *Los Angeles, A Guide to the City and its Environs*, compiled by the Workers of the Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration in Southern California, p. 152.
7. *The Historical Society of Southern California ANNUAL*, Volume V, 1902-1903, "Early Clerics of Los Angeles," by D. H. Barrows, p.
8. Hayes, Benjamin, *Pioneer Notes From the Diaries of Judge Benjamin Hayes*, edited by Marjorie T. Wolcott, p. 278. To avoid confusion in the use of the two Hayes writings, this publication will be noted as "Hayes Diary," while the second will be referred to as "Hayes, Centennial Publication."
9. A literal translation of the opening words, "*Dios te salve, Maria, . . .*" would be "God save you, Mary," rather than the usual Latin form with which we are familiar in English of "Ave," (Hail). This is simply the Spanish form of the salutation. In this inscription the verb "eres" (thou art) has been left out. Apparently this verbless form was in use locally, for Fr. Engelhardt cites as the opening line of a "Children's Greeting to the Blessed Virgin" which was in use during the early days at Mission San Gabriel. (see Engelhardt's local history of "*Mission San Gabriel*," p. 35)
10. Spalding, William Andrew, *History and Reminiscences of Los Angeles City and County*, p. 191 on.
11. *Land of Sunshine*, December, 1895, "Our Lady of the Angels," by August Wey, p. 25.
12. This became evident when photographs of the two inscriptions were enlarged. It may be that the older form was preferred for the interior because it was the older form, and thereby being more apropos in the liturgical situation.
13. Hayes, "Diary," *loc. cit.*
14. Spalding, *loc. cit.*
15. Unfortunately, until the publication of the Hayes Diaries in 1929, the one photograph of the church before the rains of December, 1860, was in the Hayes family papers. The old painting, with its Sisters of Charity, was available, but seems to have been passed over in preference to the many photographic likenesses. Even the "older residents" interviewed by Miss Marie T. Walsh were very vague; but had she been able to show them this old photograph, they might have remembered much more.
16. Hayes, Benjamin Ignatius, (joint author), *An Historical Sketch of Los Angeles County California*, "Centennial Publication," p. 92.
17. Engelhardt, Zephyrin, *San Gabriel Mission and the Beginnings of Los Angeles*, p. 315.
18. Brewer, William H., *Up and Down California in 1860-1864*, (journal), p. 20. Reprinted by permission of the University of California Press, Berkeley, California.
19. Ludwig Luis Salvator, *Los Angeles in the Sunny Seventies, A Flower from the Golden Land*, p. 130.
20. James, George Wharton, *In and Out of the Old Missions of California*, (first edition), p. 279.
21. *Land of Sunshine*, December 1895, "Our Lady of the Angels," *loc. cit.*
22. Robinson, W. W., *What They Say About the Angels*, p. 4. Comment made by Captain George Vancouver in his *Voyage of Discovery*.
23. Ludwig Luis Salvator, *loc. cit.*
24. Newcomb, *loc. cit.*
25. *Ibid.*
26. Bartlett, Lanier, and Stivers, Virginia, *Los Angeles in Seven Days*, p. 47. Reprinted by permission of the Robert M. McBride Company, New York.
27. Baer, Kurt, *Architecture of the California Missions*, p. 37. Reprinted by permission of the University of California Press, Berkeley, California.
28. Letter to the author from Ana Bégué de Packman, June, 1960.
29. Walsh, *op. cit.*, p. 69. Reprinted by permission of the Harr Wagner Publishing Company, San Francisco, California.

AUTHOR'S NOTE: Three errors in dates appeared in the first installment of this article. The date in the caption on page fourteen should have been 1822 instead of 1882; in the first line on page fifteen the date should also have been 1822 instead of 1882; and on page twenty-five the quotation from the *Los Angeles Star* should have been December 6, 1860, instead of 1850.


A Pueblo de Los Angeles Memoir . . .

CALIFORNIA *versus* HENRIQUE and YUNG

*A Case from the Early Judicial Archives
of Los Angeles County*

Edited by

GRANVILLE ARTHUR WALDRON

 THE CASE, STATE OF CALIFORNIA VERSUS WILLIAM HENRIQUE AND RUMALDO YUNG, in which the defendants were charged with breach of the peace, was found written in English in the Los Angeles County Mexican Archives, Criminal, Volume 6, 1845-1850, pages 970 to 977.¹ The case cited occurred between the time the State Constitution was ratified in November, 1849, and the State's formal admittance to the Union on September 9, 1850. During this interim the impatient Californians began operating their State government without waiting for official recognition.² In the absence of established American governmental institutions a few of the residential institutions from the Mexican regime were encouraged to continue by the American military authorities. These institutions persisted right up to the organization and operation of local units of government when elected civil authorities assumed office and took charge during June of 1850.

One such institution was the *alcalde* system; a source of great concern to Americans living in California and their concept of a representative, democratic government. In fact, the impetus given to statehood was in no small part caused by discontent with the broad and unfettered civil and judicial powers enjoyed by the *alcalde*.

The Henrique-Yung case, surrounded by rather humorous circumstances, involves two residents of Los Angeles who, while presumably in a drunken condition, approached the home of *Alcalde* Abel Stearns,³ and without apparent provocation, commenced to throw stones at the front door. The culprits fled and were quickly apprehended by the police and taken to jail shouting epithets. Stearns, in his official capacity as *Alcalde* of the First Instance, probably took the following affidavits (which are published here for the first time) in his home which he used as an office and which may have also served as a courtroom for the trial.

The case came to trial on March 6, three months before the County government and courts began functioning officially and the *alcalde* system subsequently abolished.⁴ Special Judge David A. Alexander heard the case. Summoned as jurors were Alexander Bell, George Thompson Burrill (later to become Sheriff and then Judge), Doctor Brent, Albert Packard (a merchant and one time business partner of Benjamin Davis Wilson), and Colonel Thorne.

AFFIDAVIT FILED BY SAMUEL WHITING, POLICEMAN

On this sixth day of March A.D., 1850, before me, Abel Stearns, Alcalde of the City of Los Angeles, personally appeared Samuel Whiting, one of the police of said city, who being duly sworn, saith that, on the morning of said day between the hours of four and five of the clock, hearing a pistol fired and the throwing of some missiles, which sounded like rocks, against the house of said Alcalde, as it seemed, he immediately notified the other members of the police, James Mahan, James Wilson, Dr. Creel and Capt. T. H. Purdy, and by direction and order of said Purdy, immediately went in pursuit of the offenders. On reaching the Main street (North Main Street, then Calle Principal,) from the calaboose or police office, he listened and heard said offenders going up said street towards the church (the Plaza Church on northwest side of the Plaza) and heard stones or other missiles thrown at the door of the church with violence, as he supposed, by these offenders. They were about fifty yards from affiant when he, affiant heard the stones thrown as last mentioned. Affiant followed up two persons on the Plaza, until they made a halt before a house, and affiant, with another member of the police, James Wilson, proceeded forward and arrested them. One proved to be Wm. Henriquez (obviously a misspelling, — it is later spelled Henrique) and the other a Mexican whose name is not known. Two other members of the police, to wit, Mahan and Creel were immediately behind affiant, and the Mexican was delivered over to them to be conveyed to the prison, where said prisoners now are. Affiant further says that, after said Henriquez was put in jail, and on the way there, said Henriquez threatened this affiant and also the Alcalde, Abel Stearns, with violence. The expression which he used towards said Alcalde was that he, Henriquez, would have said

California versus Henrique and Yung

(*sic*) Alcalde out to-day and lynch him, and that the whole police should share the same fate. The house at which stones were thrown as first above stated was the house of the Alcalde, Abel Stearns.

SAMUEL WHITING (*s*)

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 6th day of March 1850.

ABEL STEARNS (*s*)

Alcalde 1° de

Los Angeles

Atta (Witness)

Atta (Witness)

JESUS GUIRADO (*s*)

MANUEL GARFIAS (*s*)

(SOURCE: Los Angeles County Mexican Archives, Criminal, Volume 6, pages 970, 971.)

AFFIDAVIT FILED BY JAMES R. WILSON, POLICEMAN

On the sixth day of March A.D., 1850, before me, Abel Stearns of the City or Los Angeles, personally appeared James R. Wilson one of the Police of said City who being duly sworn saith that on the morning of said day between the hours of four & five of the clock he was awoke from his sleep at the Police Office by a noise in the street of some loud voices, that when he, with other police officers, went out on the hill, affiant heard the noise as of rocks being thrown against the house of the Alcalde, Abel Stearns, and at that time saw two men who soon dodged behind the corner of the Alcalde's office. Said men then passed on towards the church on the Plaza, affiant following. Affiant again heard a noise as of rocks clattering (*sic*) on boards, the persons, who seemed to be throwing the rocks went a little behind the church. Affiant and the rest of the police followed them beyond the church about one hundred and fifty yards, so far as affiant can judge, and arrested them. Affiant did not know their names, they are now in jail. One of them is a white man who while going to jail, threatened that Capt. Purdy of the police should be whipped well at 10 o'clock to-day, and that the Alcalde should be taken from his house and put in jail. Affiant and the rest of the police who were out on this occasion, were ordered on the duty by Capt. Purdy.

JAMES R. WILSON (*s*)

Subscribed and Sworn to before me this 6th day of March 1850.

ABEL STEARNS (*s*)

Alcalde, 1°

of Los Angeles

assta (witness)

assta (witness)

(*No signature*)

(*No signature*)

(SOURCE: Los Angeles County Mexican Archives, Criminal, Volume 6, pages 973, 974.)

J U D G E M E N T

In this cause came a jury, Alexander Bell, George T. Burrill, Doctor Brent, Colonel Thorne, Albert Packard, Doctor Clark who, being duly sworn, and the testimony being heard, said jury came and returned a verdict of "guilty." Whereupon it is ordered and adjudged by the court here that said prisoners, William Henry Henrique and Rumaldo Yung each pay the fine of five dollars to the corporation of Los Angeles and also each pay the costs of court in their cases respectively incurred and in default of payment thereof, stand committed till the same shall be paid.

DAVID W. ALEXANDER (s)

Special Judge

(SOURCE: Los Angeles County Mexican Archives, Criminal, Volume 6, page 972.)

N O T E S

1. These volumes are entitled the Mexican Archives because they reflect the proceedings of various Mexican judicial institutions during the Mexican regime and a portion of the American military period. Entries were made in Spanish except for occasional cases involving Americans which were recorded in English. The books are in the archives of the County Clerk and are being held by the County Law Library.
2. This explains the naming of the State as the plaintiff in the matter six months before it was admitted to the Union. Already certain American judicial traditions were beginning to emerge during this transitional period.
3. Sterns' home, known as *El Palacio de Don Abel*, was located at the southeast corner of what is now North Main and Arcadia streets, — the Hollywood Freeway passes through the exact location.
4. The State Legislature created, in April, 1850, the Court of Sessions and the County Court. Later, in 1851, the District Court was established. (Owen C. Coy, *Guide to the County Archives of California*, Sacramento, 1919, pp. 17, 18.)

Las Familias de California

(The Families of California)

Conducted by MRS. JOSEPH M. NORTHPROP

Genealogical Queries and Answers

8. In Section "49 Los Angeles Rises" in W. W. Robinson's "Panorama, A Picture History of Southern California," there is a reference to a J. E. Boyce. My maiden name is Boyce. One of my Boyce ancestors came West during pioneer years and was never heard from. I am wondering if the Boyce in "Panorama" could be my missing ancestor. — Mrs. E. J. Kennedy, 1112 Iliff St., Pacific Palasades, Calif.

Answer: After checking through various data, the conclusions can only be that more specific information is needed in order to trace your Boyce ancestor. Aside from the J. E. Boyce in Panorama, there was a Col. H. H. Boyce in Los Angeles in 1886 who was the business manager of the Times-Mirror Co.; a Thomas Boyce in 1859; a S. B. Boyce and an Arthur Boyce in 1892-93 in Oakland and Alameda; and a John B. Boyce, a S. B. Boyce, a William D. Boyce and an Arthur C. Boyce in Oakland and Alameda in 1896. There was also a John T. Boyce in Santa Ana in 1910. If there is reason to believe your Boyce came to *Southern* California, it would be wise to check at the Hall of Records. One would then need to know the names of his parents, about when he came West and, if possible, where he was born — that would help identify him. The ad in Panorama is dated 1885 — do you have reason to believe he was in California about that time? Mr. Robinson says the Boyce receipt is in a private collection and there is no further information concerning it.

9. George Newton was born about 1836 and died in Santa Barbara. He married Annie Rodriguez, the daughter of Ignacio Rodriguez. It is said that Ignacio was born about 1804 and lived on the Old Apple Ranch in Santa Barbara. The question is, who was his wife? Was it Maria Alanis? — Mrs. Bohr, Temple City, Calif.

Genealogical Notes

Padron (census) of Monterey, 1790 The Capitol of California

Copied from the Eldridge Translation in the Bancroft Library and Edited by
MRS. JOSEPH M. NORTHPROP

1. José Francisco de Ortega, Lieutenant Commander, Zelaya, 56; married to Antonia Carrillo, 48, Loreto, with two children: one boy of 15 years, one daughter of 12 and one "agregado" of 10 years.
2. Hermenegildo Sal, Ensign, Valdemoro, 44; married to Josefa Amezcuita, Terrenate, 34; 3 children: one boy one year old, two daughters, one 7 and the other 4 and 1 "agregado" of 15 years.
3. Pablo Soler, Surgeon, Tarraja Cataluna, 26 years.
4. Manuel Várquez, Sargeant, Mexico, 44; married to Gertrudis Linares, San Miguel Horcasitas, 22; one son of 6 years.
5. Macario de Castro, Corporal, Sinaloa, 36; married to Pretenciana Ramirez, Sinaloa, 35; 6 children: one boy 14, one 12 and one 6; one daughter 5 years, one 4 and one 2 years.
6. Gabriel Moraga, Corporal, Fronteres, 23; married to Ana María Bernal, 18; 2 boys of 2 and 1 years; one daughter of 4.
7. José Antonio Rodríguez, Corporal, 36; married to Vicente de León; one son of 10, another 8, one 6, one 4 and a daughter of 2 years.
8. Juan Ballesteros, Corporal, Mexico, 30; married to Teresa Sepúlveda; one son of 3 years and one "agregado" of 15 years.
9. Ignacio Vallejo, Los Cañada, 36, single.
10. José Bravo, San Luis Potosi, 41; married to María del Carmen Chamorro, two "agregados," one 16, the other 14.
11. José Soberanos, 37, Sinaloa; married to Josefa de Castro, 33; 1 son 8, another 4; one daughter 12, another 10, and another, 5.
12. Juan María Ruiz, Sinaloa, 48; married to Margarita, 36; one son 7, one 2 and one daughter 5 years.
13. Diego Ruiz, Del Fuerte, 46, single.
14. Manuel Higuera, Sinaloa, 49; married to Antonia Redondo, 41; one son 18 years, one 6, another 3; one daughter 12, one 9, another 8.
15. Antonio Buelna, Sinaloa, 35; married to Antonia Tapia, 28; one boy 11, another 1; one daughter 14, another 10, and one orphan 10 years.
16. Eugenio Rosalío, Panico, 41; married to María Ruiz, 21; one son 4, another 2.
17. Sebastián López, Sinaloa, 34; married to Rosa Tapia, 30; one son 3 and another 1.
18. Toribio Martínez, Guadalajara, 33; married to Isabel Talmantes, 30; one son 6, another 4, another 3 and one daughter 2.
19. Julián Ríos, San Juan Tehuacan, 42; married to Irene of the Mission San Luis, 27; one son 7; one daughter 2.
20. Ignacio Cantua, Navajoa, 50; married to Gertrudis Castello, 30; one son 7, another 5, another 3, and one 1 year old.
21. Juan María Pinto, Sinaloa, 34; married to Manuela Tapia, 25; one son 8, another 6, another 2; one daughter 4 and another 1.
22. Juan Villela, Real de Tetuache, 48 years; married to Bividiana of Mission San Carlos; one son 7 and one daughter 1 year.
23. Marcos Briones, San Luis Potosi, 29; married to Isidora Tapia, 19; one son 5, another 3, and another 1 year old.
24. Juan José Peralta, Terrenate, 33; married to Isabel Berreyesa, 36 years. (They have no children).
25. Antonio Montano, Asco, Cataluña, 50; married to María del Pilar of San Luis, 30; no children.
26. Luz García, Sinaloa, 36; married to Juana Nepomucena, 17.
27. Miguel Espinosa, Sinaloa, 50; his family absent from the province.
28. Dionisio Bernal, Sinaloa, 32; married to Manuela Mesa (daughter of Valerio), 22; no children.
29. Manuel Mendoza, Sinaloa, 29; married to Gregoria Gonzales, 28; one son of 1; one daughter 5 and another 3.
30. Luis Gonzaga Pérez, Cocory, 26; married to Manuela de Castro, 17 (daughter of Macario); no children.
31. Vicente Arroyo, San Miguel el Grande, 26; married to María Dolores Amezcuita, 24; one son 8 and another 5.
32. Xavier Alviso, 24; married to Agustina Bojorques, 18; no children.
33. José Ignacio Mesa, Altac, 25, single.
34. Francisco Alviso, San Miguel Horcasitas, 28, single.
35. Juan José Tapia, 26, Culican, single.
36. José Estrella, Guanajuato, 47; family absent.
37. Miguel Espinosa, Sinaloa, 22, single.
38. Cayetano Espinosa, Sinaloa, 20, single.

Las Familias de California

39. Ignacio Dolores Mesa, Altar, 23; married to Josefa Villavicencio, 20; one son 2 years (child of Feliz Antonio V.).
40. Guadalupe Cervantes, Tepic, 21, single.
41. Manuel Montero, Los Angeles, 30; married to Regina of Mission San Gabriel; one son 1 year old.
42. Leocadio Cibrian, Tepic, 27, single.
43. Joaquín de Castro, Sinaloa, 22, single.
44. Mariano de Castro, Sinaloa, 25, single.
45. José Vicente Gonzales, Jacona, 29; married to Beatriz of San Carlos, 35.
46. José María Lario, Zapotlan el Grande, 27, single.
47. José Velarde, Villa de los Valles, 30, single.
48. Juan Francisco Alviso, Tepic, 37; married but family absent.
49. José María Armenta, Aguascalientes, 29, family absent.
50. Ignacio de Castro, Sinaloa, 36; married to Bárbara Pacheco, 25; one son 8 and another 5 years.
51. Manuel Rodríguez, Guadalajara, 31; married to María Baldanaela Antuna, 24; one son 8.
52. Juan Gonzales, of Fuerte, 27, single.
53. Marcelo Pinto, Sinaloa, 27, single.
54. Manuel Briones, Mission Santa Gertrudis, 20, single.
55. Francisco García, Culiacan, 18, single.
56. Joaquín Mesa, Altar, 28, single.
57. José Antonio Mesa, Altar, 19, single.
58. José María Rodríguez, San Juan de los Lagos, 22, single.
59. Antonio Martínez, Guadalajara, 21, single.
60. Salvador Espinosa, Sinaloa, 35; married to Gertrudis Valencia (daughter of José Manuel), 30; one daughter of 11 years.
61. Juan María Hernández (or Fernández) "agregado," 16, single.
62. Vicente Briones, "Inválido," San Luis Potosí, 54; married to Mariana of Mission San Luis, 34; one son of 12.
63. Juan Antonio Amezcuita, Terrenate, 70, "Inválido," widower; one son of 13 years.
64. Juan Mexia, "Vecino," Sinaloa, 26; married to Viridiana of Mission San Antonio, 30; no children.
65. Tiburcio Altamirano, "Vecino," Puebla Xala, 34; widower.
66. José Antonio Padraza, "Vecino," Mexico, 34, single.
67. — 71. Five others but with no last names.
72. María de León, widow, 42; (widow of José Joaquín Moraga); one "agregado" orphan, of 11 years.
73. Francisca Ruelas, widow, 70 years (widow of Pablo Pinto).
74. Juana Serna, widow, 50 years, (widow of José Manuel Antona).

(Signed) HERMINIGILIO SAL

Monterey, 19 December 1790

Book Reviews

THE ROAD I CAME; *Some Recollections and Reflections Concerning Changes in American Life and Manners since 1890*, by Paul Jordan-Smith. (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, 1960.) Pp. 474, \$6.50.

Let me put it simply and truthfully: I believe this to be one of the most civilized books America has produced. In a quarter-century of reviewing Western Americana, particularly Californiana, I have perused thousands of volumes, most of which have lacked those qualities this one has the most of: cultural depth, breadth, and perspective.

The fact is Paul Jordan-Smith is a rarity — a cosmopolitan American, and an adopted Californian (since 1914) who has not only been able to survive our dizzy rush, but has been fortified and mellowed thereby.

Although the first half of his memoirs is about his Virginia origins, his theological education, and his experiences in Chicago, the latter half will be of most compelling interest to Californians for the collection of anecdotes and gallery of characters presented by Dr. Jordan-Smith in the settings of San Francisco, Berkeley, Claremont, Pasadena, and Los Angeles.

Those who have been held by the author's platform manner will find the same power in his prose. He recreates life in language that is many-dimensional.

The honesty that led him to be a pacifist in World War, I the discernment that enabled him to distinguish literary values in the flood of books during his twenty-five years as literary editor of the *Los Angeles Times*, the sardonic eye that saw through the advertising slogans — these qualities, and more, are present in *The Road I Came*.

The key to the book, and to Paul Jordan-Smith, is in this paragraph from his final chapter:

"In this narrative so largely concerned with one American's un-noteworthy career, I have attempted to show that in every village, town or cross-roads community, the integrating forces that make for survival are integrity and compassion. A few people, perhaps quite simple, have possessed or been possessed by these virtues and their words and works have inspired others to follow in their footsteps. Remembering those people, met along the way, inspires a love of the land where they lived. Add to integrity and compassion the sense of wonder, and you have a trinity of forces making for civilization."

— Laurence Clark Powell.

SURVEYOR OF THE SEA, *The Life and Voyages of Captain George Vancouver*, by Bern Anderson. (University of Washington Press, Seattle, 1960.) Pp. xii; 274, inc. Appendix, Index, Illus. and Bibliography. \$6.75.

The role of George Vancouver, England's great Pacific Northwest explorer-mapmaker, has been a subject of frequent interest. Rear Admiral Bern Anderson, a retired U.S. naval officer, out of his broad naval background has turned his hand at recounting the exploits of "the Surveyor of the Sea." Though this appears to be a biography, upon inspection it can easily be seen from both the excellent bibliography of primary sources and the space devoted to navigation and international affairs that the book is dedicated primarily to the matter of the voyages and not the life of Vancouver. Familiarity with nautical terminology and ability to transfer this information to readable language is one of the best recommendations for the book.

Unfortunately, and almost unbelievably, when one considers the fine press from which the work emanates and the graduate school to which it was presented as a doctoral thesis, the book is marred by frequent errors in spelling of Spanish words, lack of accents and frequent errors in usage. Both author and press must share responsibility for not having had any critical reading of the manuscript prior to publication. Furthermore, lack of examination of Spanish documentation makes the portrayal of Vancouver rest mainly on the British view of the intrepid navigator, and though not as intimate as the English evaluation, the Hispanic opinion would not be clouded by the familiarity of constant contact. This oversight is difficult to explain since Anderson's biblio-

Book Reviews

graphy contains some of these materials.

In brief compass Anderson's work traces Vancouver's life from enlistment at age 14, thru Caribbean service, to his renowned connection with the Nootka affair. In sequence there is treatment of Nootka, his visits to California and Hawaii, the facts of his later life, publication of his Voyage, some accounts of his personal difficulties and his demise. Vancouver's greatest and most enduring accomplishment was his coastal hydrographic survey, coupled with his contributions to the place name geography of the Pacific Coast.

Two somewhat doubtful assertions are made in some detail by the author on the

basis of something less than conclusive evidence. The first is that the Spaniards knew of the Hawaiian Islands from the early period of Trans-Pacific commerce, and had merely mismapped them with a longitudinal error ascribed to the set of oceanic currents. The second is that Vancouver's premature death at age 41 was due to Grave's Disease, a thyroid disorder, which malady also serves to explain the captain's occasional erratic behavior and irascibility.

Good maps, illustrations and notes enhance the treatment. The book is well-presented and should find considerable success. — *Donald C. Cutter.*

LAWYERS OF LOS ANGELES, *A History of the Los Angeles Bar Association and of the Bar of Los Angeles County*, by W. W. Robinson. (Los Angeles, California: Los Angeles Bar Association, 1959). *Illus.; Index*; pp. x, 370. \$7.50.

In a most unusual and productive combination of forces, our beloved fellow member, W. W. Robinson has joined with the Los Angeles Bar Association and become its eloquent voice in telling the story of our community as its development has been influenced and guided by the lawyers in its midst.

LAWYERS OF LOS ANGELES is a ringing title for a story that is more than a mere inventory of episodes illustrating the beginnings and development of the organized bar of a great metropolitan area, for it is a history of Los Angeles and its environs as a whole, from the early pueblo beginnings of the Spanish-Mexican Period to the present day. It is a story of great interest to all who live here, and will have a particular appeal to the host of newcomers who will find in it a well organized and documented history which, once read and digested, will give all the background needed to make the newest of these citizens feel and think like a descendant of true pioneers.

It is altogether fitting that this story should be told in terms of the lawyers involved because the lawyers of Los Angeles from the beginning have taken an active part in and have helped guide the business life of the community, they have aided in the development of its cultural aspects, they have participated in the government, and they have been active in setting and maintaining high standards for their own profession in the administration of justice, both civil and criminal. A lawyer reading this work experiences a sense of satisfaction and takes pride in the accomplishments of his profession, and cannot help but feel that on the whole the

local lawyers have done and are doing a considerably better job for the good of the community than many people realize. But the story is not only for lawyers — their clients too can take pride in the accomplishments that Mr. Robinson details, and perhaps find his "behind the scenes" analysis of many of the important events in the civic life of Los Angeles even more interesting than do the lawyers.

For the general reader the chapters on the old pueblo and the "baudy decades" provide a wealth of material of fascinating interest to anyone who wants to understand this great metropolis and why and how it all began, while later chapters detailing some of the great crimes in our history read like well-developed detective stories. The accounts are even better than contemporary journalism because Mr. Robinson has been able to write with the sure knowledge of "how it all came out," but without tipping his hand as the story is told. Famous beyond the others of course is the story of the *Times* dynamiting and Mr. Robinson's account of it, particularly in his deft handling of the personalities involved, is a classic. Also of surpassing interest is the account of the Julian promotions and their downfall. It bears reading today as an illustration of where speculative cupidity can lead, particularly when it has the active cooperation of the victims themselves.

For the lawyer the book is a treasure house of professional lore. Mr. Robinson has woven into the story not only the giant pioneers of the profession but also a host of present day practitioners whose names are known to all. And yet each of these is treated from the point of view of

his place in the community rather than his individual accomplishments. "Los Angeles" is the principal character in the book, not the individuals who are mentioned.

In this connection, the lawyer will find a real fascination in the story of the growth of the great title insurance companies who have contributed so much to the development of Southern California. Land titles have always been lawyer's business, and the integrity of land titles is one of the foundations of all economic development. Mr. Robinson is an expert in this field and his treatment here is masterful. The Los Angeles area of Southern California has probably had more transactions in real estate than any other area in our nation and it is not surprising that the title insurance system is more highly developed here than anywhere else. The role played by the great local pioneers of the legal profession in this development is clearly stated here, and in reading the story one gains a profound respect for their ingenuity, practicality and professional competence.

Another fascinating chapter to the lawyer is the story of the development of the court system, starting with the Spanish and Mexican heritage and ending with the successful engrafting of the Anglo-Saxon system imported by the Yankees. Here Mr. Robinson is dealing with a highly technical field, and yet his treatment is in all respects professional and accurate. Lawyers sometimes forget that an informed layman too can discuss with

clarity legal complexities!

That Los Angeles has one of the oldest, as well as one of the largest, voluntary organized bar associations in the country is not fully appreciated even by many of the lawyers in practice here today, and yet Mr. Robinson has skillfully traced the development of the present day Los Angeles County Bar Association (even anticipating the recent change of name), and we can indeed trace our beginnings to 1878 — with some unimportant gaps along the road.

Mr. Robinson has explained admirably the underlying reasons for the organization of the bar at each period, and he has detailed the interesting aspects of each major move, the time and place of meetings, the names of those assuming leadership and even the names of those present. In all, Mr. Robinson has succeeded in presenting these people as old friends so the lawyer-reader finds himself continually saying "I know him"; "He was so-and-so's grandfather"; "He founded the such-and-such firm"; "He later was judge in the case of thus-and-so."

From the point of view of technical production the book, which is from the press of Anderson, Ritchie and Simon, is outstanding. All the characteristics sought by the lawyer (and almost any reader for that matter, are present: an attractive and durable binding, excellent type, attractively arranged pages, readable footnotes and what is most important, a clear, simple and informative index. — *George H. Whitney.*

THE LAWS OF BURGOS OF 1512-1513 — *Royal Ordinances for the Good Development and Treatment of the Indians, Translated, with an Introduction and Notes, by Lesley Byrd Simpson.* (San Francisco, California: John Howell, Books, 1960). Pp. 58, folding map: "The Indies of the Ocean Sea, 1511"; *Selected Bibliography.* Limited Printing, 750 copies.

In the City of Burgos, the King, the Secretary to the Queen, and the Bishop of Palencia (the Chancellor) promulgated with appropriate "whereases" (reasons assigned therefor), and an appropriate conclusion, some thirty-five laws for the Government of Espanola, Cuba and Puerto Rico. In 1513, with similar whereases and conclusions, a few important amendments were added.

John Howell has published these, plus a most worth-while, *Introduction, footnotes, and a bibliography.*

You can read the entire book in an hour, but if you do so, you will want and need to read it again. It shows the Spanish mind of the day — a combination of religion, cupidity and common sense. You

will enjoy comparing the governmental and religious plan with respect to these islands with that of the Spanish conquerors and Mission Fathers in California, some years later.

The lawmakers planned a Utopia, i.e., a Christian community with minute rules. For infractions of these rules there were drastic penalties calculated to Christianize the Indians, make them wear clothes, work and benefit the Church, etc. By the *etcetera*, I mean chiefly to create profit for the Spaniards and to profit the royal treasury.

A very few examples might be of interest: "...It is our determination to remove the said Indians and have them dwell near the Spaniards..."

Book Reviews

Also, "...the persons to whom said Indians are given, ... shall forthwith build for each fifty Indians, four lodges... and have the Indians plant 5,000 hillocks (3,000 in cassava and 2,000 in yams), 250 pepper plants, and 50 cotton plants, etc...."

"...the citizen to whom said Indians are given... be obliged to build a Church... in case any Indian should fail to come to said Church, ... on the day following he shall not be allowed to rest..."

"...In this Church, an image of Our Lady and a bell shall be placed..."

"...whoever has fifty Indians shall be obliged to have a boy taught to read and write..."

"...they (the Indians) shall not be

prevented from performing their dances on Sundays..."

"...they may not have more than one wife at a time..."

"...no pregnant woman... shall be sent to the mines..."

"...all who have Indians shall be obliged to give to each a hammock... and to observe whether each Indian has a hammock... and the person who fails to observe the aforesaid shall incur the penalty of — pesos..."

"...within two years the men and women shall go about clad..."

Oh, well, it worked, didn't it, or did it? Yes, its most interesting. I liked the book, you will too. — *McIntyre Faries*.

CALIFORNIA PLACE NAMES. *The Origin and Ethnology of Current Geographical Names*, by Erwin G. Gudde. (University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1960.) *Second Edition*, revised and enlarged. Pp. 355; *Maps, Glossary and Bibliography, Key to Pronunciation*. \$10.00.

There is but one serious objection to this book. Namely, it is so fascinating to browse, that one can scarcely lay it aside! While purely a reference book, it holds the reader. He looks up a name about which he particularly wishes to learn, and finds himself reading a dozen others besides.

The place names are arranged in alphabetical order like a dictionary. Only living names are included. The author points out that it would be impractical to include obsolete or vanishing names, because there would be to many.

The *frontispiece* is a map of California showing the counties in different colors so the reader can readily locate places. Besides this, are four other maps of California in outline. The first of these shows the place names in use about 1800. The second shows those added in the later Spanish Period. The third gives the names added in the early American Period. The fourth, indicates important names that have been added in the late nineteenth century and in the twentieth

century.

The author admits the list of names is not complete. It could not be, he contends, because a work of this kind must grow, even as history grows. He laments the common unimaginative names so frequently given to new places. The naming of new towns, lakes, etc., could be useful in reviving Indian names, or in honoring deserving pioneers. New names that would be characteristic of a place could even be coined. The origin of many of the old Spanish names is still unknown. They cannot be translated from a modern Spanish dictionary because of the evolution of language, and because of local usage. The first edition was unjustly criticized from this standpoint. In the *Introduction* to this second edition, the author answers the critics of the first edition.

Professor Gudde acknowledges the co-authorship of Elizabeth K. Gudde. This book is not only invaluable for reference, but it is delightfully entertaining. — *Margaret Romer*.

THE COAST RANGERS: *A Chronicle of Adventures in California*, by J. Ross Browne. (Reprinted from *Harpers New Monthly Magazine*, 1861-62, by Paisano Press, Balboa, 1959.) Pp. 86.; Cloth. Price, \$7.50.

J Ross Browne "exaggerated with the license of a professional humorist" according to the tribute paid to him by Franklin Walker in "A Literary History of Southern California." I am sure that this review by Walker could be as applicable to

THE COAST RANGERS as it was to "Crusoe's Island," which also was generated by Browne.

The chronicle is mainly about a San Francisco hunting group and its escapades along the Northern Coast Country of

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

California with some descriptions of the scenery and its environs. This rambling journey adds a lot to Western humor but little to its history although it is refreshing to see a contemporary writer who exposes the chaotic condition of the California Indian bought about by the settlers.

Browne used very descriptive passages that were weighted with humor and, as a master narrator of the group called "Coast Rangers," his companions were often the butt of his humor. Superb cartooning is evident throughout the book, affirming his originality in style and content.

The introduction to this book contains

an excellent and brief biography of Browne by Richard H. Dillon, (Librarian, Sutro Library) in which Browne's other efforts are perhaps disclosed for the first time to the Californian. With this reprinting it is worthy to note that one of Browne's cartoons, as it appears on page 83, was on exhibit at the Library of Congress during the *Centennial of the Gold Rush and First State Constitution in 1949* as depicting Western art. This may illustrate that we have a true gift in the writings of Browne and if this book brings about a reappraisal of his works then it has served its purpose. — *Jack L. Stone.*

LINCOLN DAY BY DAY — *A chronology*, VOLUME I, 1809-1848, 327 pages, VOLUME II, 1848 - 1860, 305 pages, *Compiled by* William E. Baringer, *Edited by* Earl Schenk Miers, (U.S. Printing Office, Washington, D.C.) \$2.00 each Volume.

The *Lincoln Sesquicentennial Year*, 1959-1960, has been productive of numerous volumes and monographs on the career of Abraham Lincoln. Two such works, which in a sense parallel each other, are LINCOLN DAY BY DAY and A. LINCOLN, PRAIRIE LAWYER.

Volumes I and II of LINCOLN DAY BY DAY are the first two of the three volumes published under the aegis of the *Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission* which was created by an Act of Congress. These volumes include all the data and entries published by the *Lincoln Centennial Association of Illinois* in a series of seven pamphlets. These appeared at regular intervals between 1926 and 1930, and were later revised and published in 1933 under the title LINCOLN, 1854-1861, being the day-by-day activities of Abraham Lincoln from January 1, 1854, to March 4, 1861. Thereafter, three additional volumes were published by the *Abraham Lincoln Association* covering the period from 1809 to 1853.

These volumes became useful tools of reference for Lincoln scholars as they chronicled the known daily activities of Lincoln during this period. Since these volumes were published in 1941, the editors were enabled to almost double the contents of the preceding volumes by including the files of the Robert Todd Lincoln papers, which were opened to the public in July 1947 by the Library of Congress, the COLLECTED WORKS OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN, which were published in nine volumes in 1953, and considerable unknown letters and documentary material in private collections and in institutional libraries.

These volumes are a monument to long and careful research. Every date-bearing document pertaining to Lincoln that is available has gone into this compilation. No effort has been made to create a narrative. The items are simply dated in the following manner. Under 1824, April 10th:

"Thomas Lincoln is appointed by Pigeon Baptist Church Board to attend a church conference — (Pigeon Church Record)."

"Abraham Lincoln is my name, And with my pen I wrote the same, I wrote the same, I wrote with both haste and speed, And left it here for fools to read." — Well-known verse copied by Lincoln, CW, (Collected Works) I, illustrated.

This work would be more utilitarian had the editors inserted explanatory matter or details where necessary. For instance, in the doggerel above quoted, mention might have been made that this was Lincoln's earliest known writing, being written when he was fifteen years old and consisted of a page from his *Sum Book* which was given to his partner, William Herndon, by Lincoln's step-mother after his death.

This is not the kind of book that the casual reader would purchase. But, for the serious student of Lincoln, it contains considerable data and information, and is practically a "must" at its low price of \$2.00 a volume. The glossary of legal terms, abbreviation of sources and location symbols are useful. VOLUME I contains a fine introductory essay by Earl Schenk Miers. — *Justin G. Turner.*

Activities of the Society

APRIL MEETING

Three hundred twenty-five members and friends of the Society met on the evening of April 6, 1960, at Delacour Hall of the Los Angeles County Museum to hear Ralph Freud, Professor of Theater Arts at U.C.L.A., and Director of the annual Ramona Pageant at Hemet, describe "Ramona, the Great California Folk Pageant, and a History of Pageants in California." Following Professor Freud's talk, several members of the Ramona cast enacted a few scenes from the play.

MAY MEETING

Members of the Society and their guests met for dinner May 4, 1960, at the El Paseo Inn on Olvera Street before the regular meeting held at the Plaza Mexican Methodist Church. Director Frank B. Putnam showed colored reproductions of original water colors from the historical collection of the Security First National Bank and motion pictures and slides of past pilgrimages. J. Thomas Owen narrated slides on "Restoration Comes to the Plaza Church."

32nd ANNUAL HISTORICAL PILGRIMAGE

On June 18, 1960, the Society chartered five buses for the 32nd annual Fiesta on Wheels, "History in Our Own Backyard." Members and friends of the Society took an all-day trip to local landmarks. The itinerary included Watts Towers, Heritage House in Compton, Manuel Dominguez adobe at Rancho San Pedro, Rancho Los Cerritos, and Phineas Banning home in Banning Park, the Bixby home at Rancho Los Alamitos, Pio Pico Ranchito and several other historical landmarks.

NEW MEMBERS

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ANNUAL

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Miss Helen D. Bailey
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Carleton F. Burke
Mrs. Fritz B. Burns
Criswell
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Gifts to the Society

The Society gratefully acknowledges the liberal donations received from the following members to establish the *Gifts Committee Room* at 125 East Sunset Boulevard: Mrs. Marco R. Newmark, Mrs. Frederic C. Ripley, Mrs. Florence D. Schoneman, Mrs. Ana Begue de Packman, Mrs. Joseph M. Northrop, and Mr. Clement J. Gagliano.

MRS. E. K. ALLEN — a monograph "*A Thumb-Nail Sketch of California History*" by Ernest K. Allen.

MRS. EDWARD CANET — Pen and Ink sketch of Los Angeles, 1857, by Jeanne Canet Garnier.

ARNOLD DOMINGUEZ — pamphlet, *History of St. Vincent's College*.

MRS. MARCO R. NEWMARK — books: WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA, 1942-43; EXORDIUM OF A FEW MEN WHO STOOD OUT IN THE COMMUNITY, 1927; EXORDIUM OF TWELVE PIONEERS OF LOS ANGELES, 1928; MEMBERS OF CLUB AND CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA; SCRAPBOOK, Kept by Marco R. Newmark at the age of nine; MRS. LINCOLN'S BOSTON COOK BOOK, 1891; Photographs: Harris Newmark, Joseph Newmark with four daughters and son, Max Meyberg, Father of the Fiestas; Fumed Oak Desk, used by our late Director, Marco R. Newmark.

MRS. FLORENCE D. SCHONEMAN — CALIFORNIA BEAR FLAG with pole and stand.

J. THOMAS OWEN — photographs: Interior of Plaza Church, 1893; Front View of Plaza Church, about 1904; Side Entrance of Plaza Church; and Umbrella Bell Tower of Plaza Church, 1890.

FRANK B. PUTNAM — Serape with Mexican Flag pattern; Miss Minnie Weil's autograph album of 1889; book, *History of United States Marshalls, Southern District of California*, by R. W. Ware, U.S. Marshall and Margreth M. Costello, Deputy.

MRS. FREDERIC C. RIPLEY — A New 50-star AMERICAN FLAG with pole and stand.

W. W. ROBINSON — books: THE STORY OF THE SOUTHWEST MUSEUM; LOS ANGELES FROM THE DAYS OF THE PUEBLO; LOS ANGELES FROM THE DAYS OF THE PUEBLO (paper back); WHAT THEY SAY ABOUT THE ANGELS; THE STORY OF SAN BERNARDINO COUNTY; THE STORY OF RIVERSIDE COUNTY; LAWYERS OF LOS ANGELES; THE FOREST AND THE PEOPLE; THE FOREST AND THE PEOPLE (paper back); and BEASTS OF THE TAR PITS.

MRS. MARGARET ROMER — booklets: *One hundredth Anniversary of Coming of the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, 1856-1956*; *Golden Jubilee — St. Vincent's Hospital College of Nursing, 1899-1949*.

MRS. CARRIE ROSSELL — Velours' table cover used by Clarence Davis, Counsel for U.S. Government at Bordeaux, France, during Lincoln's administration.

FRANK A. SCHILLING — Map "Military Posts of the Old Frontier, 1850-1890. Arizona and New Mexico."

IN MEMORIAM
FREDERIC CHANDLER RIPLEY
June 25, 1877 — April 11, 1960



With Fred Ripley passes a man who was a link with the pioneer past, and who always had the vision to see and the courage to do.

There is nothing in nature that is a sham. Mr. Ripley was in tune with nature and seemed to have an insight into the structure and working of God's world. He was at home in the far flung desert regions and in the mountains where he had the pioneer ability to sense unseen workings under foot. In his garden he tamed the wild birds and they understood and loved him.

During his life he tested nature's violence by taming the roaring wild oil well, and nature's gentleness by experiencing the soft

brush of a bird's wing against his cheek while feeding on nuts placed on his hat and shoulders. His interest in children was very deep. He was very fond of all of God's little ones and often followed their faltering footsteps through school by establishing scholarships and when they were men, by giving them jobs.

By this feeling of nature he was able to guide men's steps to the drilling of one of the first gusher oil wells, and the subsequent discovery of many oil fields.

Being one of God's chosen naturalists, he translated his feeling into impeccable honesty and fairness in his dealings with his fellow men. Through the roaring days of the early oil booms, Fred Ripley always stood out from, and a little above, the sweating men and dizzy speculators with whom he dealt in the vast throb of building an industry. He maintained his intimate connection with oil until the day of his passing, a total of 56 years.

The
Historical Society of Southern California

QUARTERLY

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The Historical Society of Southern California

FOUNDED NOVEMBER 1, 1883

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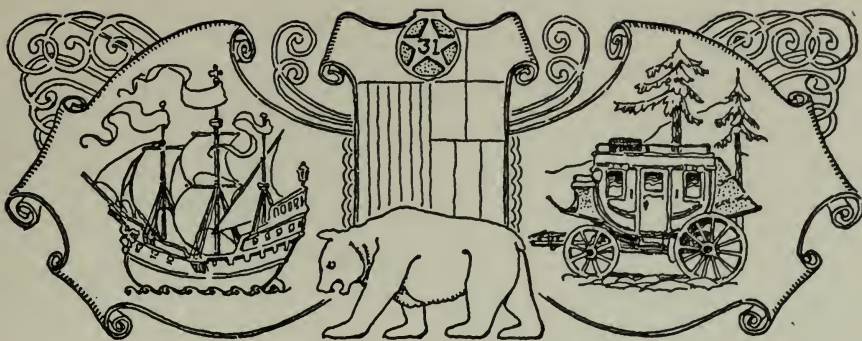
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The Historical Society of Southern California QUARTERLY for June, 1960

Edward Fitzgerald Beale *and the* Indian Peace Commissioners in California, 1851-1854

By Richard E. Crouter *and* Andrew F. Rolle

DURING THE AMERICANIZATION OF CALIFORNIA that followed the Gold Rush of 1848-49, Indian-white relations rapidly deteriorated. As hordes of settlers moved westward, an unprecedented series of assaults on the Indian by traders, cattlemen, miners, merchants and the military occurred. No real solution to the problem of preserving Indian rights seemed to exist as their lands were overrun and their tribal ways sorely challenged. Repeatedly, invading whites refused to accommodate themselves to Indian culture. Indeed, they virtually demanded that the Indian change his way of life to suit them. When the Indian struck back he could scarcely do so with any real unity. A genuine tribal organization never fully existed in California. Warfare between Indian groups was more often the rule.

While the Indians were disunited and able to launch only sporadic attacks of a protective sort, the whites were all too well organized for Indian extermination. Caucasians demanded and re-

ceived government protection. The United States Army stood on call behind the whites. Despite the vast western stretches which the War Department was called upon to patrol, Indian outbreaks were usually dealt with sternly. The practical result of white infiltration in the face of Indian weakness was gradual liquidation. If Mexico's secularization of California's missions in the 1830's had caused as serious decrease in their numbers, Indian losses in the gold rush era were simply devastating. It has been estimated that there were between one and two hundred thousand Indians in California when Commodore John Drake Sloat raised the Stars and Stripes at Monterey in 1846. From 1849 to 1856 alone the decrease in the Indian population probably numbered 50,000.

Disease and liquor conspired with bullet and knife to wreak havoc upon the Indian population. Pulmonary and venereal ailments, smallpox, and the ravages of Caucasian living wiped out the former security of Indian life under Mexican rule. Amid aggressive *gringos*, rancho Indians enjoyed no usufructuary or other rights to the land on which they lived. Some Americans paid no more heed to their presence on so-called government lands than if they were foxes or coyotes. Well-armed whites, the inheritors of the prejudices of two centuries of border warfare, were in no mood to acknowledge any rights as inhering in the California aborigines, to whom they applied the contemptuous name "Diggers."

Driven from their homes and from the land of their fathers, Indians were generally submissive, even when compelled to retreat to ever new refuges. Although most California Indians were patiently devoid of the fierceness of the plains Indians, some northern aborigines bitterly resented intrusion by the whites and preferred death to submission. This spirit of resistance accompanied by occasional depredations upon the property and livestock of Americans, brought on various so-called Indian "wars." Retaliation, by killing the first white man an Indian met after suffering an outrage, usually resulted in swift retribution — the literal wiping out of entire Indian *rancherias*.

In the towns and cities the Indians fared badly, too. Their wages were only half those paid to whites, while the conditions under which they worked were often unspeakably bad. Even worse, however, were the disastrous effects of their gambling and addiction to "firewater." "Never in the poorest huts of the most poverty-stricken wilds of Italy, Bavaria, Norway, and New Mexico," protested Helen Hunt Jackson, had she seen anything "so loathsome as the kennels in which some of the San Diego Indians are living." Almost nothing was done to help such native outcasts.

Edward Fitzgerald Beale and the Indian Peace Commissioners

As early as 1849 the federal government took steps to develop an Indian policy for California by sending numerous officials into the state. That year Thomas Butler King was commissioned to study Indian conditions and Adam Johnston was made Indian sub-agent for the Sacramento-San Joaquin area. In 1850 a United States Indian peace commission, with an appropriation of \$50,000, was appointed, consisting of Redick McKee, George W. Barbour, and Oliver Wozencraft. Their job was to contact more than a hundred tribal bands and chieftains in order to allocate specific tracts of land to each of these.

In a report to the President of the United States, written November 29, 1851, Secretary of the Interior, Alexander H. Stuart, stated that "a temporizing system can no longer be pursued toward the American Indian." The collective wisdom of the nation's leaders had, as yet, however, failed to produce a permanent solution to the problem. In mid-nineteenth century the United States population still surged westward, skipping over the vast mid-west to settle in the farthest west, including California. The United States government had removed the Indian, in as expedient a manner as possible, from land desired by white settlers. In his report to the President, Secretary of the Interior Stuart piously asserted:

The policy of removal, except under peculiar circumstances, must necessarily be abandoned. And the only alternative left is to civilize or exterminate them. We must adopt one or the other. A just, humane, and Christian people cannot long hesitate which to choose; and it only remains to decide upon the means necessary to be adopted to effect the contemplated revolution in the Indian character and destiny.¹

Such an idealistic policy, if fully implemented by the government, would, indeed, have caused a revolution. Therefore, subsequent developments concerning the Indian's welfare proved more evolutionary than revolutionary. Rather than any sudden change in the popular attitude toward the Indian, America's treatment of her native inhabitants remained, ironically, worse than that accorded European minorities seeking refuge in the United States. Only in the late nineteenth century did a reform movement of political significance develop. Helen Hunt Jackson, an avid proponent of reform, in 1881, decried wrongs perpetuated by the government in dealing with the Indian population.²

A significant chapter in the development of Indian reform concerns the policy pursued by the federal Office of Indian Affairs among Indians on the mining frontier of California. Expansion to the Pacific had occurred so suddenly, as a result of the gold catalyst in 1848, that the government could scarcely undertake immediate

Indian resettlement operations in California. Three problems had combined to create a vexing situation. Spanish and Mexican land grants were still held operative over large ranchos; numerous settlers claimed squatter's rights upon the public domain; and the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, which, in 1848, handed California to the United States, officially called for American respect for either Indian or rancho property rights. In addition, many Washington officials were ignorant of the unusual economic complexities in gold rush California.

Although annexation led to the admission of California as the thirty-first state, September 9, 1850, it remained unmapped. Much of its geography was still a mystery, and the count of its Indian population continued to be conjectural, with estimates varying from 50,000 to 300,000.³ Before land could be set aside for these Indians California must, furthermore, be freed of prior Mexican settler's preemption claims.

Racial strife mounted in the 'fifties as bands of aboriginal mountain predators crossed the Cajon Pass from the Mojave basin, raiding the cattle ranches of southern California. Other raids were frequently conducted in the Four Creeks area of the San Joaquin Valley, near the present site of Visalia. Conflict between Indian and white, under these circumstances, was inevitable.

Frankly shocked at the situation in California was French Vice-Consul M. Jules Barthelemy Lombard, who, in 1851, reported to his superiors that "it would be difficult, Monsieur le Ministre, from such a long distance, to get a real idea of the state of anarchy and loot which exists in this country." Lombard reported how, suffering from the brutality of whites, the California Indians "turned themselves into open warfare with the Anglo-Saxon race."⁴

The suggestion of revenge upon the Indian raiders by the Los Angeles *Star* and other local papers was not uncommonly made. "A party of fifty to seventy-five men could easily proceed to their camp, give them a whipping — one, too, that they would remember — and get back again in two or three weeks," the *Star* suggested.⁵ The San Jose *Daily Argus*, asserted that the root of the difficulty lay not with the Indian but "that 'blame' to any considerable degree rests upon 'our own race.'"⁶

Unrest among the Indians reached a climax in 1851. James D. Savage, a white trader called by some "king of the Tulare Indians," grew concern upon learning that all over the central valley, Indians were moving their women and children to the mountains. Because this looked like the start of a general uprising, Sheriff James Burney, of Mariposa County, raised a company of seventy-four men,

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who met on January 6, 1851, near Agua Fria, and proceeded to attack an Indian *rancheria*. Governor McDougal next ordered the creation of a volunteer group, under the leadership of Savage, who was given the title of major. On January 24, 1851, his Mariposa Battalion began a war to end the Indian depredations along the Merced River. McDougal confidently anticipated that a federal expenditure would be granted to cover the expense. The cost of financing the Mariposa Battalion, approximately \$240,000, was handed over by the state to the federal government.⁷ About the only dividend accruing to the whites from this confusing expedition was the official discovery of the Yosemite Valley.

While the Mariposa War served to focus attention upon Indian depredations in the north, a threat of seemingly equal severity was made to the security of Southern California. In December, 1851, Antonio Garra, of the Warner ranch district, began an insurrection among the Indians there, that excited residents of Los Angeles and San Bernardino by threatening to eradicate all whites. Ironically, Garra was finally captured, and the uprising quelled by one called Juan Antonio, a Cahuilla Indian chief.

Indian agent Adam Johnston, working incessantly, effected considerable improvement in Indian conditions, but lacked specific orders and manpower to govern Indian affairs for the entire state. This would be supplied by the three Indian agents authorized by Congress. Arriving at San Francisco, early in 1851, were McKee of Virginia, Barbour of Kentucky, and Wozencraft of Louisiana.⁸ At a meeting on January 13, McKee was appointed disbursing officer responsible for the funds of the group. His son, John, was chosen their secretary. Thrust into the midst of the "Mariposa War," the commissioners' work demanded immediate attention. Caution, however, was also desirable. It was necessary to sound out leadership in the state legislature and to ascertain the attitudes of residents of the agricultural and mining settlements before Indian treaties could be enacted. The commissioners, however, immediately protested Savage's volunteer raids against the commissioners' Indian wards. Governor McDougal, yielding to their will, issued a restraining order which led to the disbanding of the Mariposa Battalion on July 1, 1851.

The dilemma of McKee, Barbour, and Wozencraft, however, grew after their arrival in San Francisco. What were their actual powers granted by the federal government? Except for the idea that they were to negotiate treaties and conduct Indian Affairs in California, instructions had been extremely vague. Should they erect small military posts for the enforcement of the treaties? Had they

the power to appoint competent aides to superintend and manage in their absence? Anticipating full government support, their action was guided by what they believed would be the most effective way to conclude a series of treaties. The commissioners were dismayed when no further government appropriations were made after two original grants of \$25,000.

Government refusal of further money was difficult to understand, for communications received, as early as May, 1851, from the Department of Indian Affairs in Washington, indicated complete support of their work. One message from Washington read: "The Department fully appreciates the difficulties with which you have had to contend in executing the important trust confided to you, and is highly gratified with the results you have thus far achieved." On June 25, as McKee anxiously awaited funds, the Department wrote that it was unable immediately to comply with the necessary appropriation because Congress was not then in session. A statement from the government advised McKee to "fix the time of payment at a period sufficiently in the future to allow time for Congress to act."⁹

On January 15, 1851, California newspapers published an "Address to the Citizens" — an open letter composed by the Indian Agents. It explained the noble character of the job to which they had been called. McKee, Barbour, and Wozencraft appealed to California settlers and miners for cooperation "in restoring to the frontier settlements the peaceful and amicable relations which once so happily existed between them and the Indians."¹⁰

Other factions, more in the mood of the Mariposa Battalion, however, demanded an immediate showdown and settlement with the Indians of the interior. Such an attitude was deflected in an editorial of the *Daily Pacific News*.

We believe the Commission fully competent, with the aid of gentlemen well acquainted with the Indian character, who are ready to cooperate, to settle the whole matter, if it be possible, without the last appeal. But if that be done it must be done quickly. The Saxon blood is up and when it is so, like the rolling Mississippi, no slight levee will stay it within its channels.¹¹

Judge John G. Marvin, recently elected Superintendent of Public Education, believed that it would be necessary to give the Indians a severe beating before they would respect the power of the whites to negotiate treaties.

As the commissioners became involved in their work, Adam Johnston discovered himself to be in a subordinate position. Since April, 1849, he had supplied the Indians of the San Joaquin Valley with more beef and flour than was actually stipulated. He had

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even promoted their vaccination for smallpox, which was rampant. Without necessary congressional appropriations, these unauthorized actions led to Johnston's dismissal early in 1852.¹² His long residence in California and intimate knowledge of the obstinate mountain tribes, made Johnston less conciliatory than the commissioners. In favor of a vigorous course of action, he asserted privately that "nothing can be done for some time to come with many of the mountain tribes . . . they will doubtless give the government much trouble."¹³ Johnston, however, discreetly restrained himself from public criticism, allowing the new commissioners a free hand in their own policy.

Of the commissioners, McKee was the most adamant in maintaining that peaceful rather than forceful means must be followed to lure the aborigines into negotiations. Instructions given the commissioners by the government enabled these men to work separately or together. The three elected to work as a team. Travel in the California interior was begun with a retinue of assistants and pack animals supplied by Military Governor General Persifer F. Smith. Moving slowly, the commissioners frequently stopped to assure the various Indians of their peaceful intentions, guaranteeing safe conduct to those who were willing to come together for the purpose of treaty-making.

The peace commissioners completed their first treaty on the Tuolumne River, March 19, 1851. Another was concluded at Camp Barbour, on the San Joaquin River, April 29, 1851.¹⁴ Thereafter the commissioners divided their responsibilities geographically. All land west of the coast ranges and north of the headwaters of the Sacramento was given to McKee for supervision; the middle region, from the Sacramento to the headwaters of the San Joaquin was received by Wozencraft; and Barbour drew all of the state lying south of the San Joaquin.¹⁵ Wozencraft remained in San Francisco during May, meeting six tribes near Knight's Ferry, and then moved on to a gathering with Indians of the King's River area on August 20, 1851.¹⁶

In the northern region, McKee was pleased with the progress of his negotiations. From the boarding house where he lived while inspecting conditions, McKee wrote: "The Indians are said to be well contented with the treaties — scrupulous in observance of their stipulations and many of them working industriously either in agricultural pursuits, or in the mines . . ."¹⁷ In an address made to the Standing Committee on Indian Affairs of the California Legislature, McKee explained that the commission was attempting to colonize Indians upon reservations to be surrounded by whites.

Such a system, he asserted, would prevent extensive concentration of the tribes. A vital part of the aid to be given these Indians, beyond assimilation into white agriculture and mining, would be instruction in the "arts of civilization," to be administered by teachers established on each reservation. When questioned about placement of Indians among the white miners, McKee informed the legislature that it was absurd to say that all the Indian reservations would be located where there was no gold. But, he assured legislators, "If time and experience should show that these reservations were too large or contained valuable minerals, then peaceful measures would be taken by the Government to confine them within more narrow limits, or remove them elsewhere."¹⁸

Commissioner George W. Barbour, traveling with a military escort, proceeded southward, having agreed upon the necessity of establishing a base near the San Joaquin (later Camp Barbour) reservation.¹⁹ From this agency food was made available to the Tulare Indians by a contract between Barbour and John C. Frémont, by which the latter turned over to the commissioners nineteen hundred head of cattle, valued at \$183,825.00. Barbour next sent word to tribes living south of the Kern River to meet him in the Tejon Pass region, at Camp Persifer F. Smith. On June 10, 1851, Barbour signed a treaty with the chiefs of eleven tribes. Although they ceded all claims to land south of the Tehachapi Mountains, the Indians were granted sole rights to a tract between the Tehachapi Mountains and the Kern River, comprising 763,000 acres.²⁰

When he ran out of money, in late June, further treaty prospects for Barbour in southern California appeared hopeless. He, therefore, requested leave to winter in the east and sailed from San Francisco on October 4, 1851. His resignation was received by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in Washington on February 2, 1852. In this final report to his superior, Barbour upheld the terms of his treaties, asserting that poverty of the Indians and their unjust treatment at the hands of whites demanded the somewhat generous agreements he had made.²¹

An early concern for public acceptance of the treaties is evident in a letter sent by Barbour, on behalf of his colleagues, to the editors of the San Francisco *Alta California*, September, 1851. It was Barbour's intention to "disabuse the public mind and *miners*, in particular, in relation to the supposed extent and great *mineral* and *agricultural* wealth of those districts" then being handed to the Indians.²² Settlers in the interior of California were depicted as ignorant of the facts, even willfully misrepresenting work of the

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Indian commission. Like McKee, Barbour asserted that more trouble was caused by the whites than by the Indians.²³

Between March 19, 1851, and January 7, 1852, Commissioners McKee, Barbour, and Wozencraft had negotiated a total of eighteen treaties with the California Indians.²⁴ Embracing one hundred thirty-nine tribes, and involving one-half of California's Indian population, these agreements promised the Indians annuities of beef, blankets and other badly-needed supplies. Altogether, 7,488,000 acres, or about one-fourteenth of the state, were set aside as a permanent Indian domicile. The original treaty of March 19, which served as pattern for the others, was signed by six tribes, granting them a reservation between the Merced and Tuolumne Rivers. Acknowledging United States sovereignty, the tribes yielded any right to land outside their new reservations.

The federal appropriation for all this treaty work had been only \$50,000, but the total cost of the eighteen treaties, if ratified, would be \$716,394.79. McKee, Barbour, and Wozencraft defended this disparity between appropriation and expenditure, pleading the necessity of contracts than met the existing situation. The commissioners believed that their work easily justified additional government spending. On the other hand the provisions of their treaties were specifically subject to ratification by the Senate of the United States. A directive from Commissioner of Indian Affairs Luke Lea to McKee in California had, after all, warned that the commissioners "fix the time of payment at a period sufficiently in the future to allow time for Congress to act."

California newspapers from 1851-1852 indicate the ferment of society at the time of the Indian treaties. Those opposed to the commissioners believed that whites must kill or be killed. Treaties, even if properly negotiated by federal commissioners, would hardly be effective in stopping the slaughter. What regard did Indians have for the conventions and laws of white men? Spearheading the opposition was the *Sacramento Placer Times and Transcript*. The work of the commissioners was appraised by the *Times* as seeking to cover the entire state with Indian reservations, which, upon completion, would comprise one-half of all its arable and mineral land. Attacking the impact made by the commissioners the *Times* warned: "Much has been said about . . . taxes upon miners, but nothing has been done thus far which is likely so seriously to effect this class of our citizens as the Indian reservations."²⁵ The new Indian reservations were seen by the *Times* solely as a guise for profiteering among gold seekers.

Willing to dissent from other journalistic efforts was the *Alta*

California of San Francisco. In September, 1851, the *Alta* was laudatory:

The Commissioners have done much towards the accomplishment of their labors, and have every reason to be gratified at the result, especially when we consider that the appropriation upon which they were to depend was entirely inadequate, that their funds have long ago been exhausted, and that they have been long without advices from Washington.²⁶

During the next month, amid the violent verbiage of an editorial feud, both the *Times* and *Alta* were forced into more extreme positions regarding the commissioners. The *Times* warned that:

It would be well for the *Alta California* to examine carefully what its correspondent writes before it lends aid to induce the Senate of the United States to confirm the Indian treaties, which have been made in California, for there may be iniquity which it has not yet fathomed...²⁷

Accompanying this battle of the press was discussion of the Indian Peace Commission in the state Senate and Assembly. Barely one week after the arrival of McKee, Barbour, and Wozencraft in California, Governor McDougal, in a special message to the legislature, had stated that an end to Indian hostilities must come from within the state. Washington, he asserted, had no effective means of handling the problem. "We must," McDougal insisted, "rely upon ourselves for this purpose as circumstances warrant..."²⁸ Under Governor McDougal's successor, John Bigler, a policy mistrustful of the commissioners became one of obstructionism. Bigler urged "rejection of the treaties by which these reservations are secured." The *Alta* commented upon the strange fact that Bigler's recommendation was

urged upon the Legislature almost in the same breath with another, asking Congress to assume and pay the entire Indian war debt of the State, which but for the labors of these Commissioners, and the provisions of these identical treaties, would by this time have been eight or ten instead of two millions (sic) of dollars.²⁹

The San Jose *Weekly Visitor*, in February, 1852, argued that if the reservations were sustained, growth of the state would be retarded. It was therefore the governor's duty to call for action on the part of the Legislature. In reviewing the recent treaties, the Standing Committee on Indian Affairs of the California Senate and Assembly presented a majority report, objecting to any recognition of the Indian rights to California soil. The Standing Committee advocated removal of Indians beyond the jurisdiction of sovereign states — as the only policy which could properly be pursued.

State Senator J. J. Warner of San Diego County was the only

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member of the Legislature to oppose the majority report. Warner asserted that, "If the Indians are to be told that those Commissioners had no power to make treaties or that the President or Government can falsify itself, will you expect them, hereafter, to enter into any treaty or keep one inviolate after having entered into it?"³⁰ In presenting the minority report, the San Diego senator argued the impracticability of removing Indians from the state, and urged that senators examine fully into the treaties of the Commission. If found to be "impolitic, onerous, or burdensome to the people of this State" the senators might then "use the influence of their position to have such treaties altered or amended . . ."³¹

Less tactful than Warner was an address to the Legislature delivered by McKee barely two days before its nearly unanimous vote condemned the treaties. He openly charged both houses with having slandered his colleagues' work for the purpose of influencing public opinion within the state and in Washington.³² The moment of calm promoted by J. J. Warner suddenly collapsed in a legislative showdown on March 22, 1852, when the original resolutions urging rejection of the treaties were adopted.³³

In spite of other efforts to justify the commissioners' actions, the eighteen treaties lay under official condemnation by the State of California. To California's United States Senators, then elected by vote of the Legislature, it would have been suicidal not to act in accordance with the resolves. It only remained for legislative processes to carry the treaties into the United States Congress where the struggle would be continued.

The last of the eighteen treaties was received in Washington, D. C., February 18, 1852. Officials within the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Department of Interior were aware that violent opposition existed against the treaties and that the California delegation in Congress solidly opposed them.³⁴ In an official report submitted to the Secretary of the Interior, Indian Commissioner Lea asserted that "there is reason to believe that much good has resulted" from the efforts of McKee, Barbour, and Wozencraft to end hostilities.³⁵ Realizing that governmental policy and appropriations had provided little stimulus to effective Indian negotiations, Lea suggested that a new, independent office be established to govern Indian affairs in California. Lea echoed the views of his predecessor, Indian commissioner Orlando Brown. In 1847, Brown had recommended the establishment of three such offices for tribes west of the Rocky Mountains to lessen dependence upon the often inept agents and sub-agents in the Far West.

Embarrassed by the large financial commitments of the eighteen treaties and the open opposition by congressmen from California, the Washington Indian Office agreed that a permanent representative was needed in California. Accordingly, an independent Indian superintendency was established March 3, 1852. On the following day, Edward Fitzgerald Beale was named Superintendent of Indian Affairs for California. With a new Indian Appropriation Bill and action on the eighteen treaties pending in Congress, Beale delayed his departure for California until August, electing to remain in Washington amid the debate over the treaties. Beale performed routine administrative tasks: computing a budget, making personnel recommendations, and buying supplies, preparatory to leaving for California.

Only thirty years old when appointed to the superintendency, Beale, following graduation from Annapolis in 1842, quickly achieved the rank of Lieutenant in the Pacific Naval Fleet. The outbreak of the Mexican War in 1846 furthered Beale's military and frontier experiences. He emerged from the battle of San Pascual as a hero and lifelong friend of Kit Carson. Upon the discovery of gold in California in 1848, Beale was chosen official Naval emissary to carry the precious metal from the Sacramento Valley, in order to authenticate its discovery in Washington. Returning to California after carrying the gold east, Beale entered the transportation business. For a time most river routes leading from Sacramento and Marysville to the American Fork and Sutter's ranch were controlled by Beale as manager for the firm of W. H. Aspinwall and Commodore Stockton. As an enterpriser on the California mining frontier, Beale had witnessed firsthand the Indian-white atrocities of the early 'fifties. His desire for government service, combined with his reputation for "courage, coolness in the face of danger, unconquerable energy and determination" led to the federal appointment of March 4, 1852.³⁶

Indian Commissioner Lea asked the new superintendent, on the basis of recent experience in California, to appraise the eighteen treaties prior to action by the Senate. Beale's report, delivered to Lea on May 11, contained only a minor point of criticism that was directed at the formal establishment of schools for the Indians, "their present state of civilization and advancement being such as to preclude the possibility of their appreciating the benefits to be derived from such instruction."³⁷ Otherwise, Beale unequivocally urged ratification of the treaties by the Senate. Whether his recommendation was based upon their intrinsic merit, or fear that rejection would cause an Indian uprising, may only be surmised. Beale was

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aware that, if approved by the Senate, responsibility for enactment of the treaties would pass to the newly created Indian office.

Neither the admonition of J. J. Warner nor the recommendation of Edward F. Beale was sufficient to prevail against the stream of public opinion and political influence. The eighteen treaties were submitted to the United States Senate, June 1, and on June 8, 1852, they were individually and collectively rejected in a secret session of that body. The Senate obviously was in no mood to pay the immense claims against the United States that would remove large areas of land from public and private use. While most of these claims were never paid, several, including \$183,825 to John C. Frémont and \$7,000 to Oliver M. Wozencraft, were quietly granted in the next few years.³⁸

Rejection of the eighteen treaties in the Senate precipitated numerous difficulties just short of a general Indian uprising. As the treaties were undergoing debate, Gen. E. A. Hitchcock, United States Army commander in California, "rebuked the miners who were intruding upon the reservations set apart for the Indians, maintaining that until the treaties were rejected they must be respected."³⁹ Following rejection of the treaties, "respect" for Indian rights was replaced by a policy of defiance. Mountain tribes which had been persuaded to leave their traditional homes in order to live in a valley reservation never experienced the rewards promised them for their removal. Legitimate claims of Indian traders were never honored by the government; the flow of needed supplies to the Indian abruptly ended.

Prior to rejection of the treaties, President Millard Fillmore had recommended that Congress increase army strength to enable the War Department to provide greater protection to the frontier settlements in California. Also urging such increased military force against the rebuffed Indians were Senators Gwin and Weller of California who obtained an appropriation of \$100,000 in order to purchase supplies and gifts for appeasement of the California Indians.⁴⁰

Beale departed from New York City for California on August 5, and arrived in San Francisco on September 16, 1852. Congress passed an Indian Appropriation Act providing \$14,000 for his salary and that of a clerk, together with contingent expenses. When Beale reached California, the state of Indian affairs was in hopeless confusion. Wozencraft and McKee had not been among the Indians for months; contracts with the Indians had been mismanaged, neglected and terminated. In order to determine where the blame lay, Beale ordered an investigation of his predecessors.⁴¹

Barbour had tendered his resignation in February and Wozen-craft, protesting the lack of funds, resigned soon after Beale's appointment. McKee, who elected to remain, was assigned to the middle region of the state, but, disliking his new subordinate capacity, soon became involved in a controversy with Beale and was suspended on November 30, 1852.

Undismayed by the confusion, Beale sought for some means to provide Indians aid in a manner acceptable to the California public. He hit upon the idea of an experimental reservation, to offer agricultural work to about one thousand Indians. This self-supporting farming unit became so successful that Beale made plans to establish other small reservations. The concepts evolved by Beale reflected his military training and were reminiscent of the Spanish mission system. Each reservation was to be garrisoned by a military post. Without offering a tract of land to the Indians, the government invited them to work on the reservations, where instruction in agriculture and handicraft labor was to be made available. Beale returned to Washington early in 1853, hoping to obtain political backing for his latest plans, and, if possible, to secure a necessary appropriation which he estimated to be \$500,000.

Arriving in Washington, Beale found political figures that were not only receptive to his ideas for reservations, but willing to give them needed support. Beale received the backing of William K. Sebastian, Senator from Arkansas, and Chairman of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, who, during February and March, 1853, arose in the Senate to urge that, "some legislation of this kind is absolutely necessary to correct the state of affairs now prevailing in California which no one can wish to see continued." Sebastian begged that his fellow legislators "be startled neither at the amount asked for or at the almost unlimited power which it is found necessary to confer on the Superintendent for the Indians."⁴² Prompted by the arguments of Sebastian, an Indian Appropriation Act, with an amendment that embodied the Beale plan, was unanimously carried by Congress on March 3, 1853. Under these provisions the President of the United States was authorized to establish five military reservations either in the State of California or in the territories of Utah and New Mexico. The sum of \$250,000, one half of that recommended by Beale, was appropriated to cover his expenses.

Encouraged by such senatorial backing, Beale set out again for California, this time proceeding overland, exploring a possible central route to the Pacific.⁴³ A party of twelve, jointly led by Beale and an associate, Gwin Harris Heap, arrived in California in August, 1853. Authority granted the new superintendent by the federal

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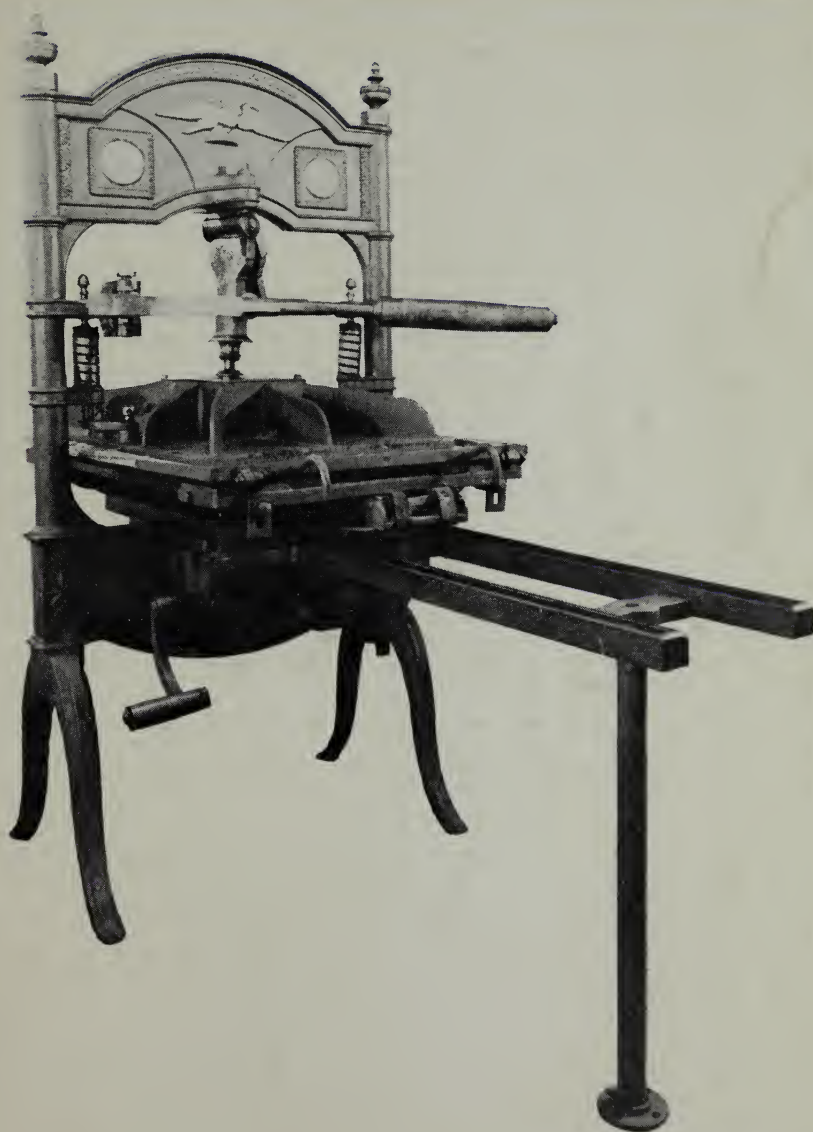
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Vol. XLII — No. 3

The

Historical Society of Southern California

QUARTERLY



—Photo courtesy of Walter Knott

WASHINGTON HAND PRESS

A Washington Hand Press, similar to this model, was used to produce "THE CALICO PRINT."

(See page 227)

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA was organized in 1883, and has enjoyed a record of continuous activity for seventy-seven years. Commencing in 1884, and each year until 1934, the Society issued an ANNUAL Publication. In 1935 the QUARTERLY was initiated. It is published each March, June, September and December.

It is the aim of the Publications Committee to make the QUARTERLY a publication of general historical interest. Suggestions and criticisms are always welcomed, and all persons, whether members of the Society or not, are invited to submit for the consideration of the editors original articles, old letters, documents, maps and other material bearing upon the history and development of this region.

The Society's Purposes and Objectives are:

- To sponsor and encourage observances of historic dates and anniversaries;
- To preserve and protect the archives and historic sites of the Southwest with particular stress on Southern California;
- To assist in the marking and restoration of landmarks which inspire interest and respect for events, persons and customs of the past;
- To promote activity in the conservation of public records, historical documents, newspapers, museum material and related Californiana;
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- To encourage the increased use of history in the schools, to the end that there shall be developed a greater interest in, respect for, and loyalty to our American institutions;
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- To hold regular monthly meetings in Los Angeles (except during the summer months) at which persons of recognized authority in their respective subjects appear as guest speakers, followed by refreshments and a social hour;
- To gather at least once each year in a pilgrimage to some spot of historic significance.

This Society is a public non-profit corporation. The principal sources of revenue for its operations and maintenance are from membership dues, contributions and bequests. It renders a needed public service and is worthy of your support.

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Membership dues and contributions to the Society are deductible income tax items. Articles, stories, books for review, and all material to appear in the QUARTERLY (submitted at the owner's risk) should be addressed to the Editor. General correspondence should be addressed to the Society Secretary.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

MARGARET J. CASSIDY, *Executive Secretary*

1909 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles 18, California

Telephone REpublic 4-2823

The
Historical Society of Southern California

QUARTERLY

VOLUME XLII

September, 1960

NUMBER 3

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The Historical Society of Southern California

FOUNDED NOVEMBER 1, 1883

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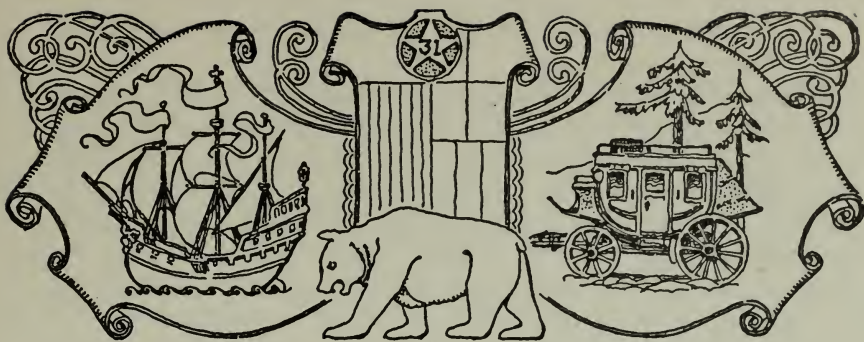
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The Historical Society of Southern California QUARTERLY for September, 1960

The Calico Print

Pioneer Newspaper of the Mojave Desert

By Douglas W. Staples



CERTAINLY THE FRONTIER PERIOD IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA produced few newspapers more colorful or interesting than the *Calico Print*, published from July 12, 1882, until some time in the summer of 1887. Born in a bustling silver camp some twelve miles to the northeast of modern Barstow, the *Print* not only drew the attention of the outside world to Calico but also served as the principal spokesman of silver mining interests in the southern portion of the state. The little journal thus combined the functions of publicist with those of town crier and conscience.

Because Calico in the mid-1880's seemed destined for a rosy future, it is scarcely surprising that an aspiring young journalist selected that community as the site of his initial business venture. Silver prices were good (averaging up to \$1.13 per ounce and no less than \$0.9795 per ounce, 1882-1887), people were flocking to Calico (whose population would at one time exceed one thousand); and a number of the local mines were achieving modest fame.¹ Nor is it surprising, either, that the *Calico Print* was as lively and spirited as it was. For Calico was, after all, a frontier mining camp,

and few such communities produced genuinely dull newspapers. The nature of life at such places usually ensured a steady supply of lively news. Moreover, it was still a day of personal journalism when editor, owner, and publisher were frequently one and the same person. And this single person was more often than not quite outspoken in his views. The *Calico Print*, born in the tradition of personal journalism and conditioned by the individualistic spirit of the frontier, was typical of the outspoken newspapers of frontier America. The enthusiasms, views, biases, and fiercely independent temper of the Calico periodical rank it with its counterparts across the land. In the *Print* are reflected the same optimism and hopefulness that seem to have gripped all western mining settlements. And in the *Print* also are revealed aims surely shared with most other such journals; to disseminate the news, publicize the community, voice the editor's views on every question at every possible opportunity, and make money.

As important as any of the above, however, is the fact that the *Calico Print*, its partial and fragmentary survival notwithstanding, is our own best observation point for viewing and studying life in Calico. It is an incomparable source material for researching the history of Calico and for becoming acquainted with the people who once inhabited Southern California's greatest silver camp. From the pages of the *Print* we can learn of the hopes, fears, triumphs, tragedies, frustrations, humor, pathos, and everyday happenings that comprised the life of the town. Indeed, without the *Print*, much of the history of Calico would have been irrevocably lost.

The editor-publisher of the *Calico Print* was John G. Overshiner. He was born in Galena, Ohio, in 1851. Less than a year after his birth he and his mother journeyed to California via "the Horn" to join his father, who had succumbed to "gold fever" and rushed west in 1850. After a childhood in California, young Overshiner became an itinerant printer. He arrived in Calico in 1882,² and shortly after his initial appearance in the town he became, chiefly by virtue of his connection with the paper, one of the community's leading citizens and its most important chronicler.

From the beginning Overshiner's journal professed dedication to a high purpose and an independent policy. In his first issue the young editor declared:

According to the oft-repeated anecdote a painter, who was just mounting the first round in the ladder of artistic fame, attempted to depict on canvas an equine quadruped, and apprehensive that there might be a doubt in the minds of some as to the species of the animal

Calico Print

it was intended to represent, wrote below in bold letters the inscription, "This is a Horse." Apprehensive that the casual observer of the heading of this sheet (the *Calico Print*) might think that it was a piece of common fabric sold at fourteen yards for a dollar, which blushing brides are so loath to clothe themselves with after being rrayed (*sic*) in orange blossoms, silk, and satin, during a brief blissful honeymoon — we simply say, "This is a Newspaper." It is not an organ. It will not be used to grind out some favorite tune or hobby regardless of the effect it may have upon the minds of our readers. It will be used to publish the most reliable information concerning the rich mining districts of San Bernardino county, also concerning its agricultural, vinicultural, grazing, mercantile, and varied business interests, as well as important and valuable news from all parts of Southern California. We shall endeavor to furnish our subscribers a paper that they will be proud of, and take pleasure in sending to distant friends. All the business interests of this place (Calico) will be benefitted by a live newspaper, and we will take pleasure in making it such if we continue to receive the encouragement and support we have already received since we arrived in this camp. Fifty-two yards of this *Calico Print* will be sold to each subscriber annually for four dollars, and we can assure you that all who make such an investment will find it a profitable one. We will assure you its colors will never fade so long as we receive a generous supply of the "color" (silver) that is being daily taken in abundance from some of the many rich mines of the district.³

It was a superb introductory statement containing everything needed to get the paper off to a good start. Unimpeachable integrity, lofty aims, a promise of benefits to subscribers, and an intimation of future profits to advertisers . . . all were expressed. Already Over-shiner displayed a capacity for business-like management. More important, the journal was off to a modest but noisy beginning.

The *Print* was a four-page paper, twenty-four by thirty-six inches in size. Its name was displayed across the top of the first page in bold letters, with a reproduction of the Great Seal of California inserted between the two words. The remainder of the page was given over for the most part to poetry, serialized stories, and advertisements, which last occupied two of its six columns. The second page contained state and local news except for two columns of commercial material at the right side. The next was filled with local news; the fourth was almost entirely commercial in nature. This format was followed throughout the paper's short life. Its aggressive editor had already secured advertisers in San Bernardino, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Colton, Grapevine, and Calico. Items printed on the front page of the first issue were similar to those that were so featured in subsequent issues. Among them were "When Stars are in Quiet Skies" (a poem), "Behind the Scenes" (a short

story), "London Sights," "Scene at a Bull Fight," and "A Nice Place to Live In."⁴

About one-third of the journal was devoted to solicitations, a proportion which gradually increased with the passage of time. Since the editor's views cropped up in news stories, editorials, and even some advertisements, it was always difficult to separate fact from editorial opinion. Such personal journalism often produced humor in the pages of the *Print*. Overshiner not infrequently acknowledged his patrons' requests in a most embarrassing manner. Illustrative of this practice is the following:

One of the fortune hunters among these bonanza mountains of the Mojave Desert approached and confidentially buttonholed us, and entreated us not to publish any items concerning him which may have happened during the past two or three weeks but wait until he got sober.⁵

The editor maintained strict silence (in print) regarding the identity of the fortune hunter in question.

The owner-publisher of the *Print* had set up shop with a full staff of helpers. I. Benjamin of San Bernardino and Oscar Morris of East (Upper?) Calico were typesetters. E. Clarke and William Burtnett did the press work, while (E. E.?) Vincent was the printer. The prize possession of the editor of the *Print* was the Washington hand press upon which the paper was printed.⁶

The first issue of the *Print*, dated July 8, 1882, was published four days late because the paper's type reached Calico "pied" in its shipping cases, and the job of sorting type occasioned a delay in publication. Nonetheless Overshiner's initial effort made at least one favorable impression, for the *Los Angeles Times* in one of its rare moods of accord wrote on July 18, 1882:

The 'Calico Print'

The first issue of this long looked-for paper is at hand, dated July 12th (July 8). It is newsy and sparkling with wit, and contains besides much valuable mining information and the laws of the camp. It is a six-column paper. Vincent & Overshiner are the publishers. It bears marks of careful editing.⁷

The quality of the *Print* varied greatly. On occasion it contained comments of genuine value. At other times it sank to almost unimaginable depths. It was at these latter times that one might find on the paper's front page such an item as the following:

This is how a woman kisses a tobacco-chewer; did you ever see her do it! There is a preliminary shudder, and then she sets her teeth hard, holds her breath, and makes a little pigeon dip at the

Calico Print

foul lips of the grinning beast, and then, pale with horror, flies to the kitchen, where, if you follow her, you will find her disinfecting with soap and water. Many of the blessed little hypocrites pretend that they like the smell of a cigar, but even hypocrisy is powerless to force from a woman the confession of a fondness for hanging like the bee on a flower to a tobacco worm's lips. — *Mrs. Garrison.*⁸

Although probably totally unmoved by the above article, the cynical Tombstone *Epitaph* at length rose to express its contempt for the *Print*. For its pains it received a sullen if not brilliant rejoinder:

We have upon our exchange list a paper called the "*Calico Print*" published at Calico, Cal. Its name would lead one to believe it a "Dolly Varden"⁹ sheet, and its editor's name is Overshiner. Now that's a good combination. — *Tombstone Epitaph.*

It overshines a graveyard-inscription anyhow.¹⁰

Always sympathetic towards the underdog, Overshiner often took up the cause of the local miners. On one occasion he wrote:

We heard some laboring men in camp express their indignation that some of the owners of mines in this district were trying to get men to work for them at \$3 per day. The regular wages in this camp for miners has been \$4 per day, and an attempt to reduce the wages is considered an imposition on them. Considering the nature of the work they have to perform and the danger and hardships they have to encounter \$4 a day is little enough. This is a \$4 camp.¹¹

The editor wrote much in the tradition of the above. He ever opposed privilege, on occasion attacking such things as Sunday "Blue Laws,"¹² commercial monopoly, and "The Unprincipled Banks" which were allegedly "Trying to Ruin the Government, Bring on a Panic, and Ruin the Masses Engaged in Small Enterprises."¹³ Some news items were of no small interest to those fascinated by the semi-legendary "wild west." The following article, taken from the *Arizona Atizla*, evoked great interest among the *Print's* readers.

John Ringgold, one of the best known men in southwestern Arizona, was found dead in Morse's Canyon, in the Chiricahua Mountains last Friday. He evidently committed suicide. He was known in this section as 'King of the Cowboys,' and was fearless in the extreme. He had many staunch friends and bitter enemies. The pistol with one chamber emptied, was found in his clenched fist. He shot himself in the head, the bullet entering on the right side, between the eye and ear, and coming out on top of the head. Some members of his family reside at San Jose, California. — *Arizona Atizla.*¹⁴

Intensely interested in politics, the aggressive Overshiner ran for election as constable shortly after his arrival in Calico and was not above using his journal for campaign purposes.

It is rumored that a dark horse is being prepared in this precinct (Calico) for the Constable race. Trot him out, boys, if you think that he is better fitted for the office than the regular nominee (Overshiner). "May the best man win."¹⁵

Overshiner lost.¹⁶

State elections were an occasion for more serious thought. After endorsing the Democratic ticket, in 1882, the *Print* declared:

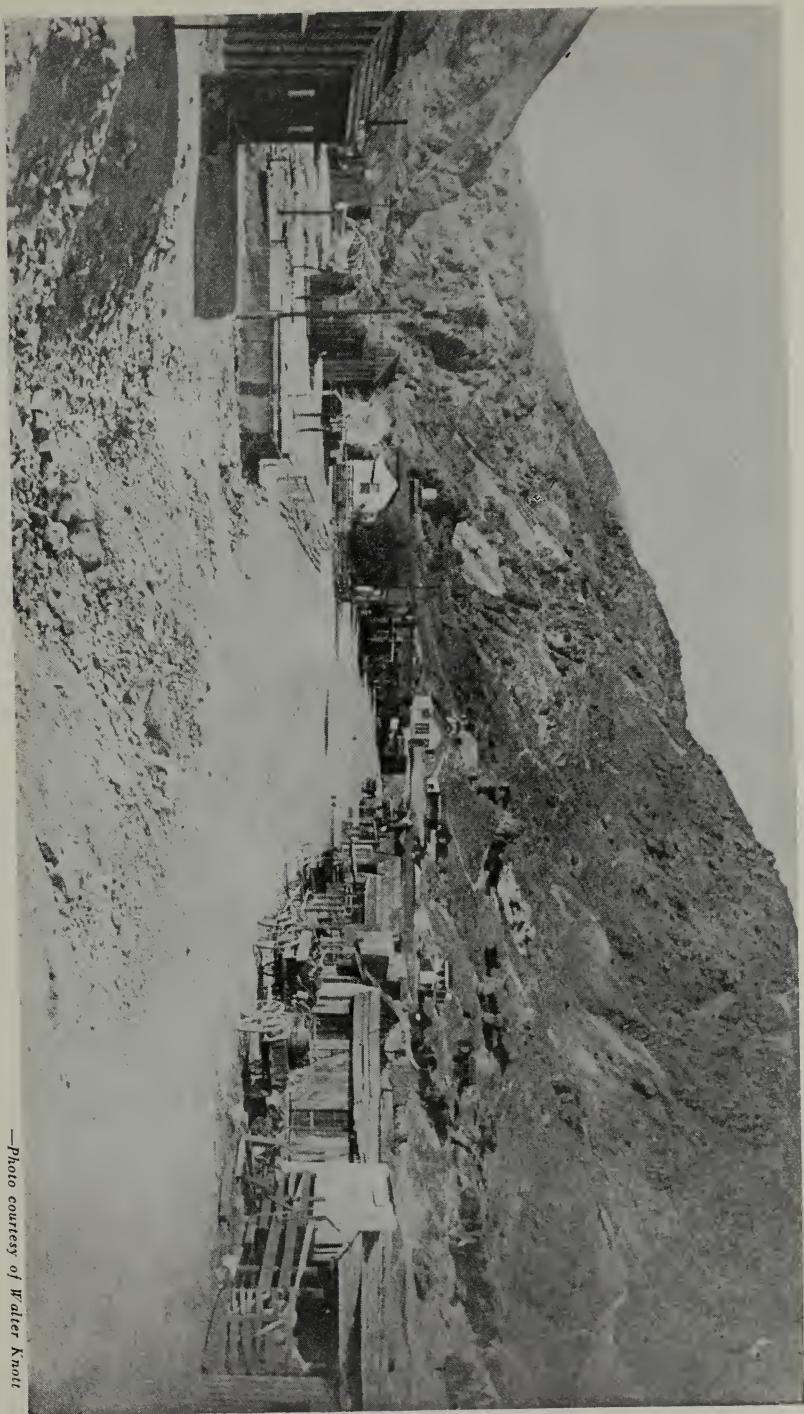
The political contest in our State has commenced in earnest. The "records" of the candidates are being mercilessly reviewed, and the Republicans have the advantage of two months the start of the Democrats (dis)charging volleys of censure a(nd) criticism. Before the election takes place the people will be astonished at the corruption and unworthiness of aspirants for office on one hand and the purity, faultlessness, and superior ability on the other. Let us have officers that are upright, opposed to monopolies, and who will not forget the rights of the poor while seeking the favors of the rich.¹⁷

Two years later, in 1884, Overshiner (perhaps with a note of bitterness or resignation) perceptively wrote:

The voters of Calico are more interested in who shall fill the office than in any particular party issue presented at this time to the people by the different political bodies. It matters not whether a Democrat or a Republican is elected, the Sunday law will prevail, Chinese will be employed, and corporations will form monopolies as far as they can under the law, we all know that. But we want representatives capable of understanding our needs and who will keep unjust burdens from being imposed upon us by corporate power, and who will see that taxation is made equal between all, that all may bear their equal share of the public burden as far as possible.¹⁸

In future elections, Overshiner maintained a similar position. Always, under the guise of objectivity and concern for the general weal, he threw his barbs at privilege, corruption, monopoly, and the Grand Old Party. Perhaps a bit of political wisdom was shown in his writings, though, for he displayed a keen awareness of the lack of differentiation between the policies then espoused by the two major national political parties.

Unfortunately, Overshiner's outspoken views often aroused unfavorable or even unpleasant reactions. From 1882 to 1886 he was involved in a heated editorial battle with the *Los Angeles Times*. The *Times*, he believed, was unduly concerned with what it presumed to be Calico's lack of morals, law, sanitation, and



MAIN STREET, CALICO, CALIFORNIA

*This view, looking up Main Street, was made in the late 1880's
or early 1890's.*

—Photo courtesy of Walter Knott



—Photo courtesy of Walter Knott

OLD CALICO RESTORATION PROGRESS

The upper photograph was made in 1951 before Walter Knott and his associates began an active restoration program. The lower photograph, made in 1959, shows work completed to that date.



—Photo courtesy of Walter Knott

Calico Print

certain other amenities which ostensibly could be found only in such a refined metropolis as the City of the Angels.¹⁹

At times the doughty editor lamented that he could find no news worthy of mention:

Not even a fight to chronicle this week: verily ye reporter has a hard time finding news when there is none to be found.

The camp is becoming duller and hotter every day. There are just as many men at work as ever before, but the boys evince a disposition to keep their coin in their pockets.

The Calico Public School closed last Friday afternoon with appropriate exercises, and A. L. Hamilton, the teacher, left for Los Angeles the following day, via San Bernardino in Wentz & Co's. stage.

In the midst of this minutiae appeared an item which probably contributed to the persistent legend that Calico was a tough, hard-living camp:

Last Monday two boys (old boys) got loaded with somebody's best, loaded their pistols, and then proceeded to unload them. Their manner of unloading was as unique and entertaining as it was dangerous. Both lay on a bed together and utilized the door knob for a target. John fired three shots and as he failed to hit the door, Fred thot he could do better. But Fred had probably never handled many pistols, and was not aware that they sometimes kick. Taking the weapon in his hand with the aim of an accomplished shootest he fired and hit — the knob? no, his nose — when he pulled the trigger he neglected to hold the pistol tightly, and the consequence was the stock hit him on his smeller, and tumbled him out of bed. Realizing that something had happened, the nature of which, however, he was not exactly sure about, he jumped up and accused John of attempting to murder him. Little boys should not fool with big pistols.²⁰

Much more epigrammatic was a terse announcement which had appeared a few months before, in October, 1884, "John Doe was killed at the Pastime (a dance hall). Good riddance."²¹

Besides busying himself with politics, local mining news, the affairs of the town, and the private lives of its inhabitants, Overshiner launched into occasional tirades against the "goldites" and other opponents of free silver.²² He was ever ready to defend the interests of Calico against all comers.

Overshiner had a strong sense of propriety and responsibility, both of which were reflected in the *Print*. Active in local government and town affairs, he frequently lent his support to efforts to improve the camp. He took particular pleasure in reminding the

citizenry that, in view of the large number of women and children present, proper and genteel behavior was much to be desired.²³

In May, 1885, Overshiner made his best known contribution to posterity. The May Day Ball and Ice Cream and Strawberry Festival for that year furnished the setting for the most infamous act of Foul Play in the history of Calico. It also furnished the *Print* with its most sensational — and most quoted — story.

The Festival was being sponsored by the ladies of Calico to help meet the indebtedness of the newly-completed Town Hall. About 2:00 o'clock, a.m., on May 2:

... a most disgraceful and outrageous assault took place in front of the hall, the full particulars of which we are not prepared to give in this issue. From the confused accounts of the affair that have reached us we briefly give the following. James Patterson, superintendent of the Occidental and Garfield mines, who was present at the dance, was requested to step out of doors, as someone wished to see him. He proceeded to do so accompanied by two of his friends, James Marlow and W. E. Stoughton. Just as they reached the front door they were greeted with a volley of eggs, and Mr. Patterson was struck in the face with a rock of sand bag. Several volleys of eggs were thrown before the parties assailed had time to draw their guns, and as soon as they did draw them the assailants fled, one of them, W. H. Foster, running through the hall, while Marlow pursued him firing several shots, none of which took effect . . .²⁴

For the reader whose curiosity has been strained to the breaking point by the partial relation of this dramatic tale, let it be known that the assailants, who were employees of a rival mine, were apprehended and punished. Marlow, too, was punished, for "shoot-ing up" the Town Hall. However, the incident was not easily forgotten by the townspeople, and it is still well remembered by some of those who were there.²⁵ The story itself is a revealing commentary on the placidity of life in Calico at the time. In many another mining camp bullets were preferred to eggs in violent encounters, and such an assault probably would have resulted in at least one fatality.

Throughout its career, the *Calico Print* had more than its share of troubles. Its press arrived too late to get the initial issue out on time. Pied type plagued its editor. News shortages, local problems, fires, floods, and disdainful comments by other editors all had to be met squarely.

Three months after the *Print* began publication, Overshiner bought Vincent's share of the paper and assumed full control.

When the railroad was completed across the desert, in 1884, he

Calico Print

moved his place of publication to Daggett, which he expected to boom as the *entrepot* of the entire area. After three years in Daggett — years possibly troubled by one or more of the fires which periodically swept that community as well as Calico — he moved back to the silver camp. During the years 1885-1887, when the *Print* probably had its greatest circulation, it served most of the mining camps of the Mojave Desert, including Providence, Ivanpah, Mescal, Alvord, Oro Grande, Grapevine, Death Valley, Calico, Daggett, and Barstow. It was regularly mailed to fifty post offices in California and forty outside the state.²⁶

Nevertheless, the *Print* did not thrive as Overshiner had expected it to do. Advertising revenues at best remained constant, or began to dwindle with the closure of some of the local mines in 1886 and 1887. Possibly, the *Print* was forced into an unsound financial condition. It was published through most of 1887, being last mentioned in the *Los Angeles Times* on June 15, of that year. In commenting on the suicide of an ex-Calicoan, the Los Angeles journal noted that the deceased had asked that two people be notified of his demise, one of whom was "John G. Overshiner of Calico . . ." Through the middle of June there had been no response from either of the two people to whom he had alluded,²⁷ nor was any forthcoming.

One of Calico's pioneer residents, Lucy B. Lane, notes that the *Print* was still published as late as September, 1887, but she does not recall its existence after that time. It may be that the fire of that September spelled *finis* to Overshiner's venture in Calico.²⁸

Overshiner, after a brief disappearance, turned up in Needles during the latter part of 1887 and began work on another paper, *Booth's Bazoo* (also known as *The Needles' Eye*). After some time he removed to Wilmington, California, where he died shortly after the turn of the century.²⁹

Unfortunately for the historian, complete files of the *Print* have long since disappeared. Only scattered copies remain, dispersed over much of the state of California.³⁰ Equally unfortunate, perhaps, is the fact that one tale must as a result remain apocryphal. Legend has it that after one of the many Calico fires, possibly that of 1887, the *Print* put out an "extra" on bedsheets because its supply of newsprint had been totally destroyed. Whether this is truth or mere supposition must remain unknown, for no one can now say. In all probability, it is only a story. Those who were in Calico at the time do not remember it as having happened.³¹

So ends the hectic history of the *Calico Print*. Journalistically

speaking it was mediocre at best. But as a unique and revealing "window" through which a fascinating segment of humanity may even now be observed, it has been surpassed only rarely.³²


NOTES

1. Most noted of the Calico mines were the Waterloo, Garfield, Thunderer, Silver King, Blackfoot, Odessa, Occidental, Oriental, Red Cloud, and Bismarck.
2. All information about Overshiner's life is taken from Zoe Foard, of Three Rivers, California, to the author, November 21, 1957. (Hereinafter cited as Foard to Steeples, November 21, 1957.) Mrs. Foard is Overshiner's niece.
3. *Calico Print*, July 8, 1882.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Los Angeles Times*, July 18, 1882.
8. *Calico Print*, July 8, 1882.
9. Dolly Varden was a pretty girl in Charles Dicken's *Barnaby Rudge*. Many western mines bore her name. The term might also refer to a dress of sheer-figured muslin worn over a bright-colored petticoat. In any case the remark in the *Epitaph* was an insult, implying that both Calico and its journal were effeminate by Tombstone standards.
10. *Calico Print*, October 21, 1882.
11. *Ibid.*, August 3, 1882.
12. *Ibid.*, July 20, 1882.
13. *Ibid.*, June 21, 1885.
14. *Ibid.*, July 27, 1882. Ringgold, also known as the "Ringo Kid," was one of the most celebrated badmen of Arizona. He is supposed by some to have been shot by Wyatt Erp. This number of the *Print* also carried an interesting account of the death of Mrs. Abraham Lincoln.
15. *Ibid.*, July 20, 1882.
16. *Ibid.*, July 27, 1882.
17. *Ibid.*, July 20, 1882.
18. *Ibid.*, October 18, 1884.
19. *Ibid.*, 1882-1885; see also *Los Angeles Times*, 1882-1885, *passim*. Los Angeles at that time had a population of little more than fifteen thousand and was itself a dirty, dusty, sprawling, brawling, adolescent town, which makes the criticisms of the *Times* seem ridiculous. In that far off day, the City of Los Angeles was no closer to heaven than was Calico. It is possible that both editors indulged in the controversy to increase circulation.
20. *Calico Print*, May 31, 1885.
21. *Ibid.*, October 18, 1884.
22. *Ibid.*, June 21, 1885.
23. *Ibid.*, October 18, 1884; June 21, 1885.
24. *Ibid.*, May 10, 1885.
25. *Ibid.*, May 10, 17, 1885. Author's interview with Mrs. Lucy B. Lane, of Calico, March 28, 1956. (Hereinafter cited as author's interview with Lucy B. Lane, March 28, 1956.)
26. *Los Angeles Times*, June 15, 1887.
28. Author's interview with Lucy B. Lane, March 28, 1956.
29. Foard to Steeples, November 21, 1957.
30. Of the thirty-odd issues of the *Print* yet extant, four are in the possession of the *Society of California Pioneers*, San Francisco, one moulders on the wall of the restored office of the *Calico Print* in Calico, and the remainder are preserved in the Bancroft Library of the University of California at Berkeley.
31. Author's interviews with Lucy B. Lane, March 28, 1956; Ella Pitcher, of Barstow, California, February 25, 1956; and Lucille Coke, of Yermo, California, March 29, 1956. Mrs. Coke asserts that the tale is true, but cites no source. It would seem on the basis of the available evidence that the story is mere legend.
32. The reader who wishes to know more about Calico might with pleasure read Herman F. Mellen, "Reminiscences of Old Calico," *The Historical Society of Southern California* QUARTERLY, XXXIV (June, 1952), 107-124; (September, 1952), 243-260; (December, 1952), 347-364.

The Celestials and the Angels

*A Study of the Anti-Chinese Movement
in Los Angeles to 1882*

By William R. Locklear

HE ANTI-CHINESE MOVEMENT IN CALIFORNIA which led to the Chinese exclusion act of 1882 was essentially a product of agitation in San Francisco and Northern California. It was here that the population of the state, both Chinese and non-Chinese, was concentrated, and it was here that agitation against the Chinese originated and developed.¹ Yet, one event in Southern California history — the massacre of nineteen Chinese at Los Angeles in 1871 — brought nation-wide attention to the California movement, and this event has come to represent, or rather to misrepresent, the character of Los Angeles' role in the campaign to restrict Chinese immigration. The facts are, however, that agitation in Los Angeles developed far later than it did in San Francisco, was more difficult to arouse and sustain, and was, on the whole less passionate and less violent.

California's resentment to the "Celestials"² was first manifested among the miners of Northern California when the Chinese became numerically ominous in 1852. As large Chinese populations congregated in northern cities agitation spread among the urban laborers, who feared the results of competing with them. Over the years, sympathetic and ambitious officeholders produced a mass of state and local legislation designed to stem the tide of immigration and to drive the Chinese away, but the courts declared most of the acts unconstitutional. The pulse of this agitation seems to have quickened during depression years or years in which immigration was particularly high, and it subsided to dormancy only when some relief from either "evil" was obtained.³

In justification of the agitation a series of objections to the Chinese was voiced, of which the validity of several is still open

to debate. But whether factually true or not the Californians responded to them as if they were, and, thus, they became a semi-conscious part of almost every citizen's perspective. The Chinese immigrant was characterized as merely a slave of another color — an intolerable situation after 1865. Moreover, because his needs were few, he could work at a very low rate of pay, thereby underselling white labor, throwing Americans out of jobs and causing their destitute families to turn to crime and prostitution. He was further described as a heathen and inveterate liar who had no respect for American social, religious or political institutions. He lived in "herds" amid squalor, gambled, smoked opium and forced Chinese women into prostitution, thus endangering the health and morality of the community. An ironic complaint was added that he — this "immoral, filthy heathen" — refused to assimilate with the white population!⁴

Underlying these objections, many of which were applicable to the white community as well, was a deep-seated racial prejudice among the Caucasians which had previously been vented against the Indian, the Negro and the dark-skinned Frenchman and Latin-American. The refusal of the Chinese to adopt American dress and customs tended to intensify this basic animosity. But the critical element seems to have been the great numbers of Chinese who immigrated. To many Californians there was a very real threat of a Mongolian invasion that would extend the frontiers of the Chinese empire into California. As late as 1882 there was published "A Short and Truthful History of the Taking of California and Oregon by the Chinese, in the year A.D. 1899," written by a "survivor." At one time or another all of these elements found expression in Los Angeles, but usually on a very reduced scale.⁵

Popular sentiment against the Chinese did not appear in Los Angeles until 1876, the massacre of 1871 notwithstanding. This was almost two full decades after organized, labor opposition expressed itself in San Francisco. Of the several factors which account for this delay the lack of a sizeable Chinese population is paramount. In 1850 only two Chinese resided among 1,610 Angelenos. Ten years later, while the city's population had risen to 4,385, there were just nine Chinese present. The Chinese community grew considerably during the sixties totaling 172 in 1870, but this was still only three per cent of the city's population. In contrast, San Francisco housed over 2,700 Chinese in 1860 and more than 12,000 in 1870. Railroad construction around Los Angeles after 1875 drew "carloads" of Chinese into the area and set the stage for local agitation.⁶

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A second factor in Los Angeles' delayed reaction derives from the local economy. Southern California was "cow country" in the fifties and sixties. Most of the town's business enterprise was devoted only to meeting the more immediate of local needs and was conducted by self-employed craftsmen. It was only after severe droughts decimated the herds in the sixties that agriculture and horticulture became serious endeavors. When they took hold in the seventies and gave Los Angeles new life, the population then increased rapidly and introduced a laboring force that could identify itself with state-wide labor opposition to the Chinese.⁷

The lack of economic opportunity partially explains the slow growth of a Chinese community as well. More significant however, was the surplus of opportunity which existed, in spite of racial antagonism, in and around San Francisco, the port-of-entry for Chinese immigrants. Then, too, the early reputation of Los Angeles did little to attract visitors. A primitive and undeveloped town, it had a "larger percentage of bad characters than any other city" in the country.

Estimates of killings in the early fifties ran close to thirty a month, and as late as 1870 the *Los Angeles Star* had reason to announce, "All Quiet — No murders or suicides occurred in Los Angeles yesterday."⁸

Except for an occasional dedicated sheriff the police force was of little value to the citizens, and could not always be clearly identified from the lawless element. In 1870 the city marshal and one of his officers shot it out with each other in front of the court house, arguing over which one deserved a particular reward for the return of a Chinese prostitute. The marshal died of his wounds.

In the absence of effective law enforcement vigilante activities substituted the law of the noose for the law of the courts. On one occasion in 1855 the city mayor temporarily resigned his office to lead a lynch mob. By the mid-sixties a deep-seated tradition of lawlessness and mob action was well-established which was not checked until a shocked public-conscience reacted to the slaughter of 1871.⁹

Under such circumstances it is easy to understand why Joseph Newmark had to pay a Chinese servant \$100 per month to come to Los Angeles from San Francisco. (At that same time he was paying an Indian and his wife only 50 cents a day for their combined services.) Even by 1867 Benjamin D. Wilson, for whom Mount Wilson is named, was having to import Chinese laborers from San

Francisco instead of being able to find them on the local labor market. When Chinese finally did begin coming to Los Angeles it was more likely due to pressures and prejudices in the north than to any irresistible attraction in Los Angeles.¹⁰

If there was ever any direct competition between Chinese labor and white labor in early Los Angeles it must have been brief and of no serious proportion. By the seventies the Chinese were concentrated in a few occupational fields which, for all intents and purposes, had become their particular fortes. As domestic help they were well regarded and came to replace the Indians and Negroes who had formerly monopolized such endeavors. In 1872 eleven Chinese laundries employed nearly half of the city's "Celestial" population while only two "white" laundries were operating. During the seventies Chinese gardeners undertook to supply Los Angeles homes with vegetables, and they came to dominate that field, too. Though individual Chinese appeared in other occupations their total number was never significant.¹¹

During the sixties the clannish "Celestials" congregated in one area — along a short street which in the Mexican period had been known as *Calle de los Negros*, but since then called "Nigger Alley" by the race-conscious whites. Long before the arrival of the Chinese this vicinity had deteriorated into a slum and was the established center of gambling, drinking and prostitution in Los Angeles. The selection of this site seems to have been voluntary on the part of the Chinese rather than as a result of any restrictions against their lodging in other parts of town. It is likely that low rents were a major consideration in the selection. Negro Alley (as the name appeared most often in print) was about forty feet wide and 500 feet long and was bordered on either side by veranda-fronted adobes. Most of the Chinese living and business activities were stuffed into its narrow, multi-roomed apartments. (In the main only wash-houses were located in other parts of town.) This became the nucleus of a gradually expanding Chinatown, and it was here that the Chinese set up their opium dens and houses of prostitution.¹²

With the introduction of the first Chinese woman in 1859 Angelenos became acutely aware of one facet of the objections to Chinese immigration. Within six weeks of her arrival this first "Celestial" lady tried to commit suicide. And though the chivalry of the *Star's* editor allowed, "Family squabbles seem to have driven her to the rash undertaking," it is more likely that her after-hours assignment was the motivation. In mid-1861 over a dozen other females arrived, and the Chinese community was immediately

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taken to task for its "unblushing conduct." Strangely enough, the Chinese merchants, who were also the owners of the prostitutes, enjoyed favorable reputations among the citizens of Los Angeles.¹³

There was, to be sure, a local awareness of the agitation being conducted in the north during this period, and in time the insulation of distance and difficult communication gave way before the mounting cries of the anti-Chinese. With the gradual influx of disappointed gold-seekers and "busted" businessmen from up-state first-hand Chinese prejudices were introduced, for it was common practice among the northerners to attribute all their misfortunes to the "yellow-skinned" scapegoat. And though it took considerable time for these seeds to blossom, they had been planted in a fertile soil where racial animosity was currently being directed toward the Indian, Negro and a sizeable Mexican population.

As early as 1857 the topic discussed at a meeting of the local Mechanics' Institute was: "Is the importation of Chinamen into this State advantageous to the people thereof in its present and future results?" At that time there were only three Chinese living in the city. The word "importation" is indicative of the attitude most often expressed in Los Angeles throughout the next decade. There seems to have been real moral indignation which grew out of the belief that Chinese laborers were actually slaves. An 1867 editorial in the *Semi-Weekly News* analyzed Chinese "coolieism" and concluded that it possessed "more than all the evils of African slavery, without any one of its redeeming virtues."¹⁴

In the late sixties there is occasional evidence of changing attitudes. When Benjamin D. Wilson was campaigning for state senator in 1869 he was "slanderosly" accused of employing Chinese while posing as a friend of labor, and in 1870 real concern arose over the possibility of Chinese being given the right of naturalization. Two new laundries began business in 1870, basing their advertising appeal on not employing Chinese. And in April 1871 a warning was posted in the Mexican section of town that no Chinese should try to settle there. However, these were isolated cases and did not reflect wholesale public resentment to the Chinese. There had been no local reaction to the signing of the Burlingame Treaty in 1868 in which the United States and China recognized "the inalienable right of man to change his home . . . and the mutual advantage of the free migration and emigration of their citizens . . . for purposes of curiosity, of trade or as permanent residents." Nor did Los Angeles send any representatives to the anti-Chinese convention held in San Francisco during August, 1870.¹⁵

Even from the vantage point of history, nothing occurred in the months immediately preceding the 1871 massacre that would have permitted its prediction. Nonetheless, on the evening of October 24 a mob of 500 "Angels," enraged over the killing of a white by some "Celestials," stormed through Negro Alley leaving eighteen dead Chinese in its wake — fifteen of them suspended from make-shift gallows. A nineteenth victim died from bullet wounds three days later. In addition to the slaughter the Chinese quarters were looted of over \$30,000 in money and personal property.¹⁶

One cannot contest that this was a very real expression of anti-Chinese sentiment among a portion of the population. The mob did not seek out the guilty parties, but gave way to blind racism in taking revenge against the entire Chinese community. However, no evidence exists to suggest that this attitude was representative of Los Angeles as a whole. There is no way of knowing how many people swelled the ranks of the mob merely out of curiosity or from a compelling sense of horror. A heroic few actively opposed the onslaught, and through their efforts reduced the number of victims by perhaps as many as ten. Others tried less successfully to temper the crowd with words. Elsewhere in town whites were hiding Chinese in their homes in case the mob should enlarge its hunting ground. The following day, the newspapers agreed in blaming the "scum and dregs of the city" for the outrage, and though this smacks of civic white-wash, judging from Los Angeles' reputation, the figure of 500 may not have been large enough to embrace even the "bad" element in town. Moreover, the extensive pillage that took place and the fact that the Chinese settlement was located in the center of the local slum lessens much of the skepticism such a statement arouses. On October 26 a City Council member stated that some of the police, apparently seeking to share in hidden Chinese savings, offered bribes to incite the mob.¹⁷

Within the context of this study a most important point regarding the massacre of 1871 is that it was not a part of any anti-Chinese movement. It was not an attempt to drive the Chinese from town nor to discourage others from coming. At this time there was no anti-Chinese movement afoot in the city. The Chinese population was still quite small and was engaged in occupations which did not directly compete with any significant number of whites. And though 1869-71 were depression years economic pressures were easing by mid-1871, and just two weeks before the massacre the *Star* observed, "There are fewer idlers and men out of employment in Los Angeles than in any other city of its size on the Pacific Coast."

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The murdering and looting of October 24 seems to have been more the dying breath of a period of general lawlessness than an expression of any city-wide sentiment against the Chinese.¹⁸

Except for a single, insignificant meeting in 1873 the anti-Chinese movement did not gain expression in Los Angeles until 1876. Anti-coolie clubs in northern California revived agitation in 1873 when a new influx of immigrants intensified an already unfavorable employment situation, and Los Angeles responded in June with its own anti-Chinese meeting. But no enthusiasm could be generated among the Angelenos, and the agitation died out immediately. Actually Los Angeles took a critical view of the northern agitation. Of the anti-Chinese legislation being considered in San Francisco the *Star* editorialized, "To cut off the queues ('pig-tails') of those who are here, and to awe away from us those who are in our midst by refusing to let them remove the bones of their dead to the sacred soil of their fathers, is a recourse unworthy of intelligent men." It also pointed out that "this kind of persecution will weaken the cause of the anti-Chinese, and make friends for the Mongolians," and suggested that the energy of the agitators be directed toward obtaining Congressional action.¹⁹

State-wide agitation reached new heights in 1876. Recent immigration had been greater than any time since 1852, while economic conditions had deteriorated measurably. By this time every political party in the state and nation included anti-Chinese planks in their platforms, and sufficient pressure was finally brought to bear in Congress that a Joint Special Committee was sent to San Francisco in late 1876 to investigate Chinese immigration.²⁰

Even Los Angeles entered into the agitation and organized an Anti-Coolie Club in May. The club was favorably endorsed and initially grew rapidly. But though the meetings it sponsored during the summer were well attended, club membership never exceeded 300. In its platform the club sought abrogation of the Burlingame Treaty and Congressional action to restrict Chinese immigration. It denounced the use of illegal or violent measures and circulated anti-Chinese petitions which were forwarded to representatives in Congress with 2,500 signatures. The only concrete achievement of the club, however, was inducing the City Council to award no public works contracts to persons who employed Chinese. The insignificance of Los Angeles in the over-all movement is effectively implied in the *Report* of the Joint Special Committee — of over 1,200 pages of testimony recorded only two referred to the local situation.

Despite the meager immediate results of this agitation in Los Angeles, the short-lived Anti-Coolie Club left a legacy of some consequence. Local laborers now identified themselves closely with state-wide labor opposition to the Chinese. Furthermore, membership in the club had transcended class lines by enlisting some of the "wealthiest and most prominent men" of the community, and some of these influential sympathizers were later to lead the workingmen in their political attempts at correcting various social and economic evils.

Local agitation in 1876 and subsequent years resulted from several factors. Construction of the Southern Pacific and other railroads brought large numbers of Chinese into the area after 1875, and the unemployed of Los Angeles saw in them the cause of all their misfortunes. In anticipation of the rail connection with San Francisco local business men overextended themselves. This was forcibly brought home when, instead of ushering in an era of prosperity, completion of the railroad in 1876 introduced an after effect to the Panic of 1873. Coupled with a serious drought in 1876-77 this brought on a depression which lasted to the end of the decade.²²

For these ills the Chinese, the railroads and "big business" were variously blamed, but the larger part of the Los Angeles populace remained aloof from anti-Chinese activities. A visitor to the city in 1876 noted that while anti-Chinese sentiment was "highly developed" there was still a great demand for Oriental labor and domestic help. In this regard, annual attempts by workingmen after 1876 to organize boycotts against Chinese and Chinese-employing businesses, though heavily pledged to, failed miserably.²³

On the heels of destructive riots in San Francisco, some of which were markedly anti-Chinese, a meeting of Los Angeles laborers was called for August 3, 1877. Rumors that San Francisco "toughs" were drifting into the city to attend the meeting led to the hurried organization of a Committee of Safety to aid police in maintaining order. So imminent was violence believed to be that the *Star* even reprinted an editorial from the Los Angeles *Evening Express* rather than take the time to write one of its own. This editorial reflected the current situation and attitude of Los Angeles and anticipated in its hopes the course that local agitation would take in the future.

The workingmen have no grievances that can be remedied by a demonstration. Public opinion in Los Angeles is a unit of the Chinese problem. Both political parties have declared against the policy of the unrestricted immigration, and the men who favor

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their introduction are very few. The Chinese who are here now, are here lawfully, and if we are to get rid of them it will have to be done lawfully. To fan the flame of prejudice against these people by tumultuous meetings can only lead to violence, and the people of this city will not tolerate violence. We cannot forget that scenes were witnessed in this city six years ago which were disgraceful and inhuman in the extreme, and which called forth the condemnation of the civilized world. These must not be reenacted, and if any movement is on the tapis which may render it possible that Chinamen will again be seen hanging to our gate-posts, it must be nipped in the bud. We shall go as far as any newspaper in a rational and lawful effort to remedy the Chinese evil, but we shall discountenance with all our power and influence any movement that may lead to violence. The Chinese problem is now in the hands of Congress, the only constitutional power which can deal with it. Whatever influence we can bring to bear upon that body to remedy the evil will do good; but violence at the present time would only react upon the question and set it back for years.²⁴

As things turned out, the laborers showed no more inclination toward violence than they had the previous year. During August the new Labor Organization of Los Angeles declared for "peaceful and legal" eradication of the Chinese "evil" and gave over the bulk of its constitution to setting forth a host of grievances against the city and county governments. When Denis Kearney, the incendiary agitator of San Francisco, delivered a tirade in Los Angeles during December he was described as "most violent and abusive" and local workingmen continued in their peaceful attack upon the problems of the day.²⁵

Through changing leadership the Labor Organization of Los Angeles evolved into Workingmen's Club No. 1, which in turn became the nucleus of the local Workingmen's Party, the name of which was a considerable misnomer. The Workingmen's objectives were sufficiently broad to appeal to almost every male citizen, regardless of occupation or economic status. Concentrating on reforms of social inequality, corruption in government, and malpractices of the railroads and business monopolies as well as the Chinese issue, the platform attracted a membership of laborers, farmers and small business men. By advocating peaceful and legal measures for the achievement of its goals the Workingmen's Party won enough public endorsement that in February, 1878, its representatives got an article inserted into the city charter providing that, "The Mayor and Council are prohibited from entering into any contract for public works or improvements, unless a proviso be inserted in the said contract to the effect that Chinese labor shall not be employed on such works or improvements."²⁶

The conservative leadership of the local Workingmen guided them along a course independent of the Kearney-influenced party in the north. Their platform and ticket for the municipal elections of 1878 revealed the continued heterogeneity of their ranks. To enhance its chances for success the party nominated several non-Workingmen for leading offices. Certain party elements opposed this, of course, but the voices they raised were nothing in comparison to the ruckus that followed the later discovery that some of these men, including the candidate for mayor, employed Chinese! Party demands that they discharge such employees proved fruitless and frustrating. Despite the obvious inconsistency between the aims of the Workingmen and the practices of some of their candidates, a reform-conscious electorate gave them an overwhelming vote of confidence, seating Workingmen in twelve of fifteen City Council chairs and giving them a majority of the others offices. The Workingmen's candidate for mayor and at least one other Chinese-employing ticket member were among the office winners.²⁷

The only anti-Chinese campaign pledge of the Workingmen's Party had been to tax the Chinese so heavily as to force them beyond the city limits. Among the city councilmen the Workingmen's anti-Chinese element was well represented, and they set out immediately to fulfill at least this one promise. As their weapon they selected the business license tax and aimed it directly at launderers and vegetables peddlers.²⁸

The Chinese had dominated the laundry business since the sixties, and in 1879 Chinese laundries probably outnumbered the non-Chinese by nearly ten to one, while employing close to 300 of their countrymen. As for the vegetable peddlers, 200 Chinese truckmen employed at least fifty wagons in carrying out their door-to-door trade. In 1876 Chinese vegetable peddlers had outnumbered non-Chinese forty-seven to two. To maintain their monopoly they gathered in Negro Alley each morning at dawn and exchanged particular items of produce to insure that each peddler had a full selection to offer his patrons. It was reported in 1879 that nine out of ten families relied upon the Chinese for their vegetable supplies.²⁹

Under the tax ordinance proposed in January, 1879, "regular" laundries (as differentiated from "poor women who do washing") were to be taxed \$25.00 per month, instead of \$5.00 as formerly. The vegetable peddlers, who had been paying \$3.00 per month per wagon since 1877, were now to pay \$20.00 each month. For vegetable peddlers who walked, a monthly tax of \$10.00 was to be levied. And so as not to miss the rest of the Chinese community, a tax of

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\$5.00 per month was proposed for "all aliens ineligible to the privilege of becoming citizens of the United States, who were employed in any capacity in the city of Los Angeles."³⁰

The simple economics of this tactic and the public conscience of the council proved to be stumbling blocks, however. In order to meet municipal expenses and to liquidate a part of the large city debt it would be necessary to recoup the revenue losses that would result from a Chinese exodus. To accomplish this no tax reduction was given to other businesses (one of the other Workingmen's campaign promises); it was, in fact, increased five-fold on some, and for the first time in Los Angeles a tax was to be made on professional pursuits.

Thus, the ordinance drew criticism from many quarters. And an editorial in the *Herald* suggests that there was not unanimous agreement even over the Chinese provisions:

... The question as to whether a man of whatever color, race or previous condition of servitude, can be legislated out of his means of earning a livelihood, is a grave one, and it is by no means concluded when a City Council has announced its sovereign pleasure. The Chinese should go, but the place to secure this going is the National Capital.³²

Under such an economic threat the myth of "docile John Chinaman" was quickly exploded. The Chinese vegetable peddlers taxed themselves \$2.00 each to obtain legal aid in testing the constitutionality of the law. And to enlist public sympathy they gave two-days' notice and then went on strike, intending to remain out three weeks. However, some doubts apparently arose about the wisdom of this tactic, and they returned to their wagons after four days. The laundrymen, on the other hand, chose to adopt a wait-and-see attitude, but rumor soon had it that the "wily Mongolians" were plotting to establish an enormous laundry under one roof, thereby having to pay only one tax.³³

With the very real possibility of expensive litigation facing the city, the Council reduced the fees to \$6.00 and \$12.00 per month on laundries and vegetable wagons, respectively, and withdrew the tax on employed persons not eligible for citizenship. Although the laundrymen quietly accepted the new tax, which was merely a 20% increase over the former, the vegetable vendors pushed a test case before the courts and won. A county court justice found the tax "oppressive, partial, unfair and in restraint of trade and therefore void." Encouraged by this success the vendors refused to pay even the revised fee of \$5.00 and went on strike again in May. Available sources did not reveal the success or failure of this par-

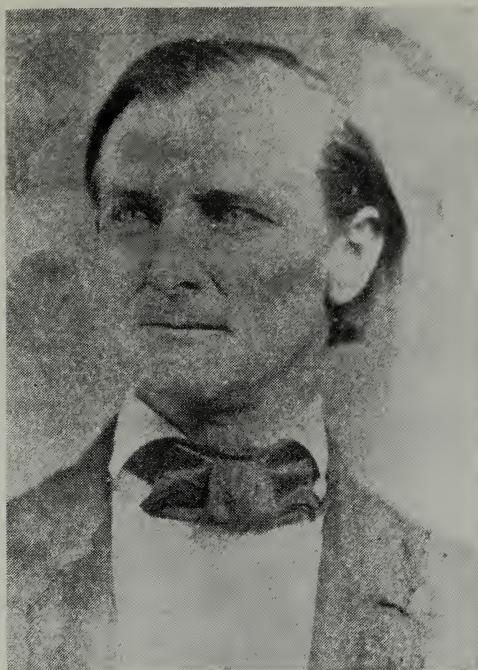
ticular effort, but the vendors were soon back at work. In August they petitioned the Council for a reduction to \$2.00 and enlisted enough sympathy among customers that several petitions from local housewives asked that the license tax on vegetable peddlers be completely abolished. These efforts, however, gained no further concessions.³⁴

In conjunction with trying to tax the Chinese out of town the Workingmen had simultaneously organized a boycott against Chinese goods and labor. There was even established an "Anti-Chinese Vegetable and Produce Market." Though subscription to the boycott was heavy the pledges were most often observed in their neglect. The only pledge reported honored by the *Star* was the replacement of all Chinese help with whites by the United States Hotel in March.³⁵

If there was any one aspect of the Chinese issue upon which public opinion was united it was the blight of Chinatown. Though a number of non-Chinese still lived along Negro Alley, the health menace caused by accumulated filth was attributed solely to the "Celestials." The Chinese themselves owned no real estate in Los Angeles, and their landlords had regularly refused to cooperate with earlier efforts to eliminate the eye-sore. In 1877 a frustrated City Council had to settle for merely changing the official name of Negro Alley by incorporating it into Los Angeles Street. When the Workingmen took office public hopes were high that at last some progress would be made, but the best the Workingmen could do was to prorate among the owners the cost of fumigating the area. Later attempts to improve the situation were equally unsuccessful, until 1888 when Los Angeles Street was physically extended, and the adobe apartments of Negro Alley were demolished.³⁶

The Workingmen suffered one defeat after another in their campaign against the Chinese. The state "Lodging House Law of 1876," better remembered as the "Cubic Air" law, required that 500 cubic feet of air exist for each tenant of a building. That no effort was made to apply the law in Los Angeles before 1879 reflects the general lack of active resentment to the Chinese, and the conditions under which it failed in that year certainly suggest a continuation of public apathy. In January of 1879 the City Health Officer caused ten Chinese to be arrested for violation of the law. But the city was unable to get a conviction. With absolute evidence on the side of the prosecution, the jury disagreed nine to three for acquittal. Instead of ordering a retrial the judge dismissed the case, explaining that the city could lose a fortune in pursuing such a hopeless cause. Thereafter the law became a dead-letter in Los Angeles.³⁷

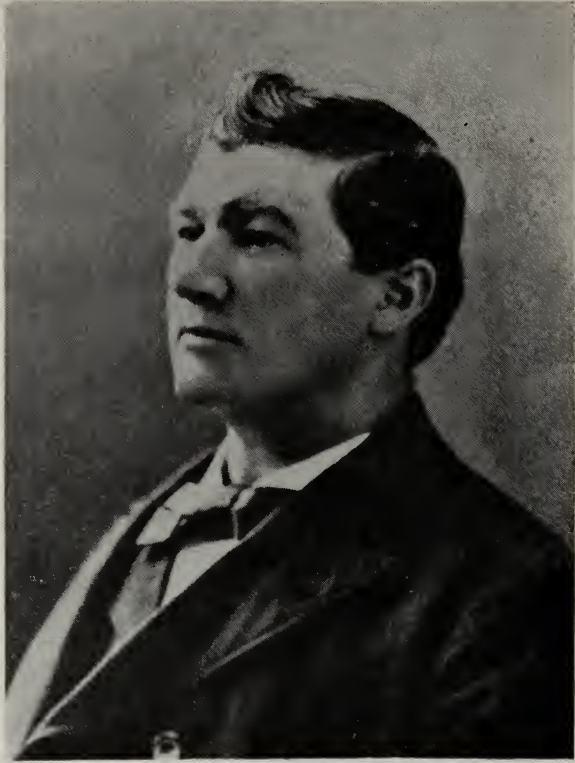
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—Printing plate from the Society's Collection

BENJAMIN D. WILSON

In the 1869 campaign for the office of State Senator, Mr. Wilson was "slanderosly" accused of employing chinese while posing as a friend of labor.



—Printing plate from the Society's Collection

DENIS KEARNEY

This violent labor agitator from San Francisco had little effect on Los Angeles citizens when he delivered an abusive anti-Chinese address in December of 1877.

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Anti-Chinese sentiment in Los Angeles decreased rapidly during late 1879 and 1880. The failures of the Workingmen and their defeat in the next election, the improvement of economic conditions, and the departure of large numbers of Chinese for railroad construction in Arizona, all were factors. At the height of the Workingmen's agitation in 1879 the Chinese population may have exceeded 1,000, but the 1880 census recorded only 605 Orientals among more than 11,000 inhabitants. And by the end of the year that figure had been "substantially reduced." The temporary blossoming of agitation in early 1879 can best be attributed to the political advantage labor interests held during the year, although the size of the Chinese community should not be disregarded. That the campaign lasted as long as it did illustrates the determination of the Workingmen, rather than prolonged public endorsement.³⁸

In November, 1880, a new treaty was negotiated with China in which the United States was permitted to "regulate, limit or suspend" the immigration of Chinese laborers. This was a major step toward achievement of the anti-Chinese movement's goal, but Los Angeles gave it no particular attention. Jobs were plentiful enough and sentiment against the Chinese was so reduced by July, 1881, that the Los Angeles Woolen Mills began replacing white laborers who refused to work a 15-hour day with Chinese, and no issue was made of the action.³⁹

In the early months of 1882, when statewide agitation over the impending passage of a Chinese restriction bill was high, the *Los Angeles Times* put forth a distasteful and unsuccessful campaign to arouse the citizenry. A series of articles attributed the majority of major crimes in California to the Chinese, representing American hoodlums as "tame and insignificant" in comparison. Other articles purported that a "prominent physician" held Chinese wash-houses responsible for the appearance of cases of mysterious "syphilitic sores" among "moral persons." The *Times* supported these accusations with the "well known fact that so impure has become the Chinese nation as a whole that the custom of handshaking is unknown among them."⁴⁰

Seated amid the snowballing excitement in Northern California, the governor set aside March 4, 1882, as a legal holiday for the purpose of each locality helping to demonstrate state-wide opposition to further immigration. The Los Angeles rally was well attended. The city band played, a cannon was fired which "smashed every window in the neighborhood," and a resolution was drawn up and sent on to Washington to encourage Congress. This jubilant holiday may have occasioned the half-hearted attempt in April to

exclude the Chinese from the city, relying upon the 1879 state constitution and subsequent laws for the authority to do so. However, the matter was immediately dropped when the city attorney pointed out the obvious conflict of such an ordinance with the federal constitution.⁴¹

In 1882 local newspapers showed mixed reaction to President Arthur's veto of a twenty year restriction bill. The *Evening Express* called it an abuse of the veto power while the *Times* agreed with the president that such a long period of restriction amounted to exclusion and thereby constituted a spiritual breach of the new treaty with China. In other parts of the state the President was being hanged in effigy. Some localities organized anti-Chinese leagues with the express purpose of expelling the Chinese forcibly. However, no such reaction found expression among Angelenos. On May 6, 1882, President Arthur signed a bill which provided for suspension of the immigration of Chinese laborers for ten years. While most of California celebrated Los Angeles accepted the news without any demonstration. The rabidly anti-Chinese *Times* extended a soft note of thanks to Pacific Coast congressmen without further comment. At the next meeting of the City Council the achievement was not even mentioned.⁴²

Anti-Chinese agitation in Los Angeles did not die with the passage of this act in 1882. In a very real sense it had died in 1879 with the demise of the Workingmen. The indifference exhibited by Angelenos when restriction finally was achieved was representative of the local attitude throughout most of the pre-1882 campaign. The slaughter that occurred in 1871 is misleading when regarded as an episode of the anti-Chinese movement. The only relation that might be drawn is that the massacre tended to retard such a movement in Los Angeles and perhaps exerted a sobering influence on the character of the local campaign. Over most of the period covered here there were too few Chinese in the city to warrant concerted agitation. Nor was the laboring element of Los Angeles either large enough or well enough organized in these years to arouse and sustain popular sympathy for their cause, especially among a population that obviously found Chinese services and prices irresistible.

An enlarged laboring class resurrected anti-Chinese agitation from its grave in 1885-1886, but with results similar to those of 1879. The futility of the anti-Chinese movement in Los Angeles is well illustrated by the "death-bed" appeal of the 1886 campaign — that the City Council should at least compel Chinese launderers to write their tickets in English!⁴³

The Celestials and the Angels

NOTES

1. The standard works on the anti-Chinese movement are Mary Roberts Coolidge, *Chinese Immigration*, New York, 1909, and Elmer C. Sandmeyer, *The Anti-Chinese Movement in California*, Urbana Ill., 1939. The former is the more exhaustive study, but the less objective.
2. This was one of several popular terms of reference to the Chinese and appears to have been second only to "John Chinamen" in usage. In California it was frequently used to ridicule the "obviously non-celestial" Chinese immigrant. The term probably derived from "Celestial Empire," an Occidental name for China.
3. Coolidge, *op. cit.*, 30-31. John Walton Caughey, *California*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1957, 383. Sandmeyer, *op. cit.*, chap. 3, gives concise coverage of the early legislation. Lucile Eaves, *A History of California Labor Legislation*, Berkeley, 1910, 134-140. Grace Heilman Stimson, *Rise of the Labor Movement in Los Angeles*, Berkeley, 1955, 10.
4. Sandmeyer, *op. cit.*, chap. 2. Ira M. Condit, *The Chinaman as We See Him and Fifty Years of Work for Him*, New York, 1900, 21-22.
5. Caughey, *loc. cit.* Condit, *op. cit.*, 22. Sandmeyer, *op. cit.*, 109-110, 120.
6. Stimson, *op. cit.*, 10-11. Ira B. Cross, *A History of the Labor Movement in California*, Berkeley, 1935, 78. *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850*, 969. Maurice H. and Marco R. Newmark, *Census of the City and County of Los Angeles, California, for the Year 1850*, Los Angeles, 1929, 30-31, 67, 115, 117. *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860*, I, 29. *Ninth Census of the United States, 1870*, I, 90; the actual population of the city being 5,728. Sandmeyer, *op. cit.*, 17.
7. Stimson, *op. cit.*, 3. Caughey, *op. cit.*, 394.
8. Charles Dwight Willard, *History of Los Angeles City*, Los Angeles, 1901, 279. Harris Newmark, *Sixty Years in Southern California*, Boston, 1930, 31. Caughey, *op. cit.*, 299. *Star*, June 11, 1870; all newspapers cited are of Los Angeles.
9. *Star*, November 1, 1870. Caughey, *loc. cit.*
10. Harris Newmark, *op. cit.*, 123-124. Letter of A. Eberhart, San Francisco, California, to Benjamin D. Wilson, [Los Angeles, California], November 25, 1867, *Cowan Collection*, 104/29, No. 1, Library, University of California at Los Angeles. Stimson, *op. cit.*, 9.
11. Harris Newmark, *op. cit.*, 123. *Star*, March 22, 1872. City of Los Angeles, *Register of Licenses, 1872*; contains records for 1872-1873 and 1875-1877.
12. Marco R. Newmark, "Calle de los Negros and the Chinese Massacre of 1871," *Historical Society of Southern California QUARTERLY*, XXVI, Nos. 2 and 3 (June September, 1944), 98. Harris Newmark, *op. cit.*, 30-31. Edwin R. Bingham, *The Saga of the Los Angeles Chinese*, (Unpublished M. A. thesis, Occidental College, Los Angeles, 1942), 23. *Evening Express*, March 4, 1880.
13. *Star*, October 15, November 26, 1859; April 27, June 8, August 17, 1861; August 27, September 6, November 1, 1870; June 2, 1875.
14. *Star*, January 24, March 21, 1857. *Semi-Weekly News*, June 21, 1867.
15. *Star*, September 4, 1869; July 9, 16, 21, 24, August 16, 1870; April 27, 1871. Sandmeyer, *op. cit.*, 78. Stimson, *op. cit.*, 10.
16. *Star*, October 25, 26, 27, 1871. Chester P. Dorland, "Chinese Massacre at Los Angeles in 1871," *Historical Society of Southern California, ANNUAL*, Vol. III (1894), 22-26. Remi A. Nadeau, *City-Makers*, Garden City, N. Y., 1948, 63-70. Hubert Howe Bancroft, "California Inter Pocula," *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft*, XXXV, San Francisco, 1888, 563-568. Paul M. De Falla, "Lantern in the Western Sky," *Historical Society of Southern California QUARTERLY*, XLII, No. 1 (March, 1960), 57-88, No. 2 (June, 1960), 161-185. For a much-questioned account see Horace Bell, *On the Old West Coast*, New York, 1930, 166-177.
17. Harris Newmark, *op. cit.*, 434. Dorland, *op. cit.*, 25-26. *Star*, October 25, 1871. City of Los Angeles, *Records of the Common Council*, VII, 387.
18. Cross, *op. cit.*, 63-64. *Star*, October 9, 1871. Stimson, *loc. cit.* A story has been perpetuated that a "heavy indemnity" was paid to China by the United States government as a result of the Los Angeles riot. Available sources reveal no such payment. It is possible that payments in 1887 and 1889 for Chinese property losses in Wyoming and Washington riots have led to this misconception. Compare Marco R. Newmark, "Calle de los Negros and Chinese Massacre of 1871," *loc. cit.* and Marco R. Newmark, *Jottings in Southern California History*, Los Angeles, 1955, 41.


19. Stimson, *op. cit.*, 10-11. Cross, *op. cit.*, 84. *Star*, May 30, June 5, 27, 1873. *Evening Express*, May 28, June 2, 1873.
20. Sandmeyer, *op. cit.*, 57-57. Cross, *op. cit.*, 85. Stimson, *op. cit.*, 11. U. S. Congress, *Report of the Joint Special Committee to Investigate Chinese Immigration*, 44th Congress, 2nd Session, Report No. 689, Washington 1877, 1.
21. *Evening Express*, May 6, 10, 11, 17, 26, June 30, August 23, 1876. *Star*, May 9, 18, 25, August 24, 1876. Stimson, *op. cit.*, 11-12. U. S. Congress, *op. cit.*, 1140-1141.
22. Harris Newmark, *op. cit.*, 504. Stimson, *op. cit.*, 7, 9-12.
23. Ludwig Louis Salvator, *Los Angeles in the Sunny Seventies*, [trans. by Marguerite Eyer Wilbur], Los Angeles, 1929, 41, 43.
24. Cross, *op. cit.*, 89-93. Sandmeyer, *op. cit.*, 63-64. *Evening Express*, August 2, 1877. *Star*, August 3, 4, 1877.
25. *Evening Express*, August 4, December 20, 1877. *Star*, August 4, 18, December 20, 21, 1877.
26. Stimson, *op. cit.*, 12, 18-19. *Star*, January 12, 1879. William M. Caswell, compiler, *Revised Charter and Compiled Ordinances and Resolutions of the City of Los Angeles*, Los Angeles 1878, 18. *Evening Express*, February 4, 1878.
27. Stimson, *op. cit.*, 22-24. *Herald*, November 20, 21, 30, 1878. *Star*, February 11, 1879.
28. Stimson, *op. cit.*, 23, 25.
29. The number of Chinese laundries in 1879 is estimated at 30, based upon a general trend found in compiling occupation totals from the *Register of Licenses, 1872*, (see footnote 11); the figures are: 1875, 17; 1876, 24; 1877, 25. The *Star*, January 29, 1879, estimated that each Chinese laundry employed an average of 10 workers. *Tenth Census of the United States, 1880*, XIX, 781. *Star*, January 14, 1879. *Herald*, February 29, 1879.
30. *Star*, December 15, 1878. *Herald*, January 28, 29, 1879.
31. *Herald*, January 28, 29, 30, 1879. Stimson, *op. cit.*, 25.
32. *Herald*, January 29, 1879.
33. *Herald*, January 29, February 2, 1879. *Star*, 2, 3, 6, 1879.
34. *Records of the Los Angeles Common Council*, XII, 759-767, XIII, 318, 434, 766. *Star*, February 6, 7, 10, 14, 21, May 14, 1879. *Herald*, January 29, February 2, 7, 9, 14, May 2, 4, August 8, September 26, 27, 1879. *Evening Express*, May 2, August 4, 1879. Stimson, *loc. cit.*
35. *Star*, January 14, 29, February 13, March 11, 27, 1879. *Herald*, February 19, 1879.
36. City of Los Angeles, *Deeds From the City of Los Angeles*, III. City of Los Angeles, *Assessment Roll, 1862, 1867-1873, 1876, 1879, 1881*. Marco R. Newmark, "Ordinances and Regulation of Los Angeles, 1832-1888," *Historical Society of Southern California QUARTERLY*, XXX, No. 2 (June, 1948) 105. *Star*, March 24, 1879; June 17, 1879. *Herald*, January 12, June 6, 13, 1879. Caswell, *op. cit.*, 452. *Records of the Los Angeles Common Council*, XIII, 207.
37. Cross, *op. cit.*, 82. Sandmeyer, *op. cit.*, 63. *Herald*, January 31, February 4, 5, 1879.
38. *Star*, January 12, 1879. The speaker at a Workingmen's rally referred to the "herd of 1500" Chinese in Los Angeles. Carey McWilliams, *Southern California Country*, New York, 1946, 84-85, shows a 1879 figure of 236 for Los Angeles, but he does not indicate his source. His 1880 figure is 1170, considerably higher than the census figure and the mayor's calculation at the end of the year. *Herald*, December 13, 1879. *Evening Express*, March 4, June 19, December 23, 1880. *Tenth Census of the United States, 1880*. I, 416. The total population reported for Los Angeles was 11,183.
39. Eaves, *op. cit.*, 172-173. Sandmeyer, *op. cit.*, 91-92. *Evening Express*, December 28, 31, 1880. *Herald*, May 15, July 27, August 19, 1881.
40. *Times*, January 26, 27, 28, 31, February 1, April 7, 8, 1882.
41. *Times*, March 5, April 9, May 2, 1882. *Records of the Los Angeles Common Council*, XV, 342-343.
42. *Times*, April 5, 19, May 9, 1882. *Evening Express*, May 10, 1882. *Records of the Los Angeles Common Council*, XV, 381-392.
43. Stimson, *op. cit.*, 66; the 1885-1886 anti-Chinese campaign in Los Angeles is given excellent coverage in chap. 5, "Union Against the Chinese."

The Land Boom of 1885-1888

and Its Effects Upon the Real Estate Conditions in Monrovia

By Richard L. Dyer

I. INTRODUCTION

T HAS NOT BEEN POSSIBLE to portray systematically the phenomenal increase in real estate in Monrovia. Valuable information from city and private sources has been destroyed or misplaced. Statistical information is often conflicting or not credible, and checking the original source has frequently been impossible.

Helpful and reliable records in Monrovia and neighboring communities provided the foundation for constructing this account of real estate conditions in Monrovia. Bridging the obvious gaps has not always been possible, and frequently some sections are awaiting supporting or conflicting information which may or may not turn up later.

The emphasis is on the phenomenal rise in real estate values in Monrovia. Despite the lack of accurate real estate statistics it is possible to portray a clearer account of the boom on Monrovia, and to provide a sampling of some of the factors contributing to the success of Monrovia during the "Great California Land Boom."

II. ORGANIZING THE TOWNSITE

William Monroe, a successful railroad contractor, arrived in Los Angeles in 1875. In 1884 he began to look for property for his country home. He was attracted to the San Gabriel Valley after a talk and inspection tour with Elias J. "Lucky" Baldwin of Rancho Santa Anita. "Lucky" Baldwin's advertisements about his tracts of land to be sold for colonies or farm sites had interested William Monroe. "Lucky" Baldwin spoke of the profit to be made in citrus

orchards and grains, and offered the "land, including water, in five to twenty-acre tracts, clear and ready for the plow, \$250 to \$400 an acre; twenty-five per cent cash, balance at the end of six years; interest eight per cent per annum."¹ He even agreed to pay for the taxes until the balance had been paid.

William Monroe and his sons purchased about 240 acres of foothill land for about \$30,000 from "Lucky" Baldwin between 1884 and 1885.² The area was described by one of the early inhabitants as being "... a wild piece of land, nothing but sage and sumach, originally a sheep-ranch and inhabited only by jack rabbits and coyotes."³ Mr. and Mrs. William Monroe arrived in March of 1884 and established a temporary tent camp among the oaks. Already plans were being made for the establishment of a colony on the site.

After William Monroe's investment, additional land was purchased in the same area by Edward F. Spence, the former mayor of Los Angeles, John D. Bicknell, the Los Angeles attorney, and James F. Crank, the railroad builder. A Townsite Company was organized, and William Monroe was elected president. The men drew up plans for a colony, one which would be founded on a "solid, substantial, put there to stay"⁴ basis, and began to clear the land of brush and the larger boulders. Advertisements were placed in the Los Angeles papers to call to the attention of the builders that "free rock" was available in the townsite. Conduits were dug and iron and concrete pipes laid from Saw Pit Canyon to convey an adequate supply of water to each lot. The Townsite Company assured prospective settlers that they would have free water for many years to come. These "men of energy, intelligence, sagacity and substance"⁵ were convinced that their colony would become one of the most desirable and prosperous in the country. By May, 1885, a sixty-acre tract had been cleared and platted for home sites. The "gem of the foothills"⁶ was ready for its first settlers.

III. GROWTH OF THE TOWNSITE

The Townsite's real estate boom started on May 17, 1886, with the sale of the first fifty-foot by 160-foot city lot. The corner lots sold for \$150 and the inside lots for \$100. Mrs. Katherine Wilson of Duarte purchased the first lot for \$150.⁷ It was reported that as the boom progressed, Mrs. Wilson sold her lot for \$5,000 — less than a year after her purchase.⁸

The members of the townsite company had agreed that the wholesome growth of the colony depended upon their attracting permanent settlers rather than real estate speculators. William

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Monroe was instructed to sell lots for less than surrounding property was sold on condition that substantial improvements would follow.⁹ The townsite company had "spared neither pain nor expense"¹⁰ in securing free water for each lot and, in order to make the city more attractive, they began to plant the first of some 8,000 fast growing pepper trees¹¹ to line the broad avenues. Later, as real estate agents began to promote their property, advertisements assured the potential residents that "electric lights to illuminate the city"¹² would soon be added. Although many tracts of land were purchased to be platted and resold, the gradual and systematic development of the city made it one of the "most successful boom towns in the San Gabriel Valley."¹³

After the boom had started, visitors from many states, and even a few foreign countries, swarmed into the townsite to investigate desirable property. They arrived hours before the sale was to commence and joined others in the long lines waiting for their chance to purchase some premium lots. Frequently young boys would get in line, then sell their place to late arrivals.¹⁴

As the boom matured the rise in prices of the townsite's lots was the most phenomenal of any of the boom towns.¹⁵ During the first six months, lots and acreage sold rapidly to receptive visitors and "the music of saw and hammer"¹⁶ became a familiar sound in the townsite. Unfortunately, a step-by-step analysis of real estate transactions is not possible. The statistics are not absolutely accurate, and many transactions were never recorded because lots resold too quickly. Often speculators would take out an option on a lot, for sixty or ninety days, by payment of a few dollars.¹⁷ This reserved the property for the speculator. If prices rose, he profited; if they fell, he lost only a few dollars. There were very few cash sales, most sales being consummated with a down payment of as little as ten per cent and the rest "on the installment plan."

As the investors arrived and purchased property for themselves or to be resubdivided at the opportune moment, property values systematically increased. In less than a year business lots in Monrovia were selling for \$100 a front foot.¹⁸ A few lots in subdivisions located on the outskirts of the townsite were being advertised for as little as \$200, but most choice city lots were selling around \$700. The *Monrovia Planet* wrote that "Geo. O. Monroe (son of William Monroe), sold a lot on Myrtle avenue this week for \$1,000, which was purchased a few months ago for \$100."¹⁹ Acreage a few blocks from the civic center was selling for \$500 per acre while, farther away, unimproved land could still be purchased for as little as \$200 per acre.²⁰

A neighbor at the time, Joseph Netz, described the sudden increase in Monrovia when he wrote,

"In 1887 \$8,000 was offered for a lot bought the year before for \$150, while \$10,000 was the selling price of two other lots, a lot bought for \$5,400 was sold in five months for \$12,500. A lot 100 feet by 150 feet bought for \$3,500 was sold in thirteen months for \$13,500. A lot bought for \$5,500 sold ten days later for \$16,000. Acreage which went begging in 1885 at \$300 sold readily in 1887 for \$3,000."²¹

As the land fever increased men of prominence were attracted, some to invest in the future of the city, others to establish winter homes in the oak-covered foothills. John M. Studebaker, the wagon manufacturer from South Bend, Indiana, arrived and purchased land for a winter home. Jerome I. Case, the threshing machine manufacturer from Racine, Wisconsin, invested in real estate among the oaks. General William A. Pile, the fighting parson of the Civil War and former minister to Venezuela, purchased property and built one of the handsomest mansions in the city. Edward F. Spence had completed his mansion as a resort for his family and guests from Los Angeles. Colonel P. C. Baker of Pasadena arrived and invested \$27,000 in one day in Monrovia real estate.²²

As the land fever persisted, new tracts were cleared and platted into smaller lots to attract the small investors. Only nine tracts had been laid out in 1886, but by the end of 1887 nearly forty tracts had been recorded at the Los Angeles County Recorder's Office.

During March of 1887, Lewis L. Bradbury platted a tract of land adjacent to Monrovia's eastern boundary and called it West Duarte. He had erected a hotel and a few office buildings, but the town, facing too much competition from neighboring Duarte and Monrovia, did not prosper. West Duarte was a source of civic humiliation to Monrovians because the Santa Fe Railroad's depot was in West Duarte. Visitors to Monrovia had to get off in West Duarte, then proceed to Monrovia by carriage. Eventually Lewis L. Bradbury acquiesced to intensified pressure from his neighbors, and his tract was added to Monrovia as the Bradbury Addition.

The most publicized subdivision of Monrovia's real estate boom was the Crescent Addition. This tract was located in the oak-covered foothills north and west of the business center. Colonel H. H. Boyce, the owner, offered sixty lots ranging from one-half acre to two acres for sale at public auction on March 1, 1888, at 11:00 o'clock.²³ The area was near the palatial residences of William Monroe, John M. Studebaker, Jerome I. Case and William A. Pile, Monrovia's most prominent residents. The newspaper advertise-

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ments²⁴ spoke of it as the "largest sale of the year."²⁵ On the day of the sale, William Monroe, the agent, arranged for a grand excursion by a railroad car from Los Angeles to the site. The *Los Angeles Tribune* described the auction the following day. It said:

The sale of acre lots in the Crescent Addition to Monrovia yesterday was an unqualified success. Those who went out on the excursion pronounce it the pleasantest [*sic*] day that they had experienced in a long time. There was no hurrying and no crowding, while the day was almost perfect. W. N. Monroe & Sons had attended to their part of the work with their well-known ability, and there were carriages enough at the depot to convey the large crowd up through the beautiful town and out to the grounds of the Crescent Addition where a bountiful lunch was spread. No less than fifteen boxes of oranges were consumed by the jolly crowd. After W. N. Monroe had told the people about the property, the water and the improvements to be made, the sale began. H. H. Matlock and Son were the auctioneers and they conducted the sale in a masterly manner. The first lot brought \$950, and the bidding was most spirited. The sixty lots offered, brought \$45,000. The lowest price being \$495, at which price John Bryson, Sr., of this city bought two lots, and the highest price paid was \$1,600 for lot 8.²⁶

Colonel Boyce's terms called for "ten per cent of the purchase price upon the fall of the hammer, enough to make one-third within five days, and the balance in six and twelve months at ten per cent interest."²⁷ The sale of lots in this addition sold well during March and April, but later advertisements describing it as "the best residence [*sic*] property in Monrovia"²⁸ and "No Brass Band! No Chromos! No free lunches, but legitimate business propositions out of which you can make money! As sure as the sun shines"²⁹ did not meet with the anticipated rush to invest. The great land boom had run its course in Monrovia by May, 1888.

Perhaps Monrovia's greatest real estate scandal occurred during the spring of 1888 with the platting of land along the San Gabriel River, south of the city. This subdivision was called Chicago Park, or South Monrovia. The great flood of 1867-68 had cut a new channel for the river and in doing so had washed away several thousand acres of what had once been fertile land.³⁰ The remaining land was considered undesirable for habitation or agriculture by local residents. A Pasadena real estate agent, Will Beach, had acquired the land and, evidently, sought to make his money on the initial \$13.00 purchase price for the 2,289³¹ twenty-five-foot by 133.4-foot lots. An elaborate contract called for a railroad track, school, church, hotel, street car line and shade trees. The agent realized that many of the late arrivals to Southern California

considered town property entirely too high, therefore, he expected these people or speculators to invest heavily in Chicago Park. He said that he expected the sale to "result in the building of a lovely center surrounded by lovely homes in this loveliest part of the San Gabriel Valley."³² Street names such as "Michigan Avenue," "Dearborn Street" and "State Street" were obviously used to entice the gullible speculators from out of state. The real estate agent had large colored posters printed depicting river boats and ocean liners steaming up the San Gabriel River to unload their cargoes and passengers at fabulous Chicago Park. A few anxious speculators did invest their \$13.00 before examining the property. After the purchaser had examined his purchase he tried to resell it to other dupes or, frequently, abandoned it to the cacti and dry river bed. The more cautious investors took the train to the Monrovia depot, then the carriage to see the publicized inland port. Needless to say, the first glimpse of this worthless land convinced them that their trip had been in vain and they returned to expose the scandal to others.

The agent's anticipated development of Chicago Park was never effectuated. The scandal had been exposed and the population seldom included more than the one watchman who took care of the leading hotel.³³ Within a few years the county assessor was assessing these lots in bunches of five at an aggregate value of \$1.00 for the bunch.³⁴ It was some time before the respectable citizens in Monrovia were able to erase the stigma of the Chicago Park scandal.

By January, 1888, Monrovia had grown into a stable community of "nearly 1,500 persons" with a business district consisting of "some fifty or sixty"³⁵ permanent buildings. The first buildings were hotels, erected to encourage visitors to investigate real estate opportunities in the city and to provide temporary accommodations for the settlers while their houses were being constructed. The Central House, the first building erected in the city,³⁶ Monrovia Hotel, Grand View Hotel and Belmont Hotel were providing first-class accommodations for visitors and settlers by January, 1887.

Undoubtedly the most distinguished hotel in Monrovia was Colonel John S. Keefer's Grand View Hotel. The hotel was described by E. R. Cleveland of the *Los Angeles Evening Express* when he wrote:

The Grand View Hotel is pleasantly situated facing the valley and is elegantly furnished and makes some pretensions to architectural beauty. (This sixty room structure was very fashionably completed with scroll works and "gingerbread" adornments.) There are two stories proper and the roof quarters are so arranged as to be attractive. The house is admirably arranged as to suites, closets, parlors, halls and dining rooms. Old oak is the favorite for

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chamber sets, and fireplaces are numerous and of modern style. A broad piazza adorns two sides of the building. At the southeast corner are bay windows, octagon in shape, and the whole surmounted by a modest tower.³⁷

Colonel Keefer was confident that the public would like what he had to offer when he placed the following announcement in the *Los Angeles Tribune* about the grand opening:

<p>GRAND VIEW HOTEL MONROVIA, CALIFORNIA On the Los Angeles and San Gabriel Valley Railroad, 16 miles from Los Angeles.</p> <p>NOW OPEN</p> <p>J. S. KEEFER, PROPRIETOR, Formerly of the Grand Central Hotel, N. Y. City.³⁸</p>
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Soon after the opening of the hotel, Colonel Keefer, who had been in poor health for many years, shot himself while his family was at breakfast.³⁹ The proprietorship of the hotel was then assumed by William Monroe and, under his management, it became one of the first class hostelryes of the coast . . .⁴⁰

One of the first business establishments in the community had been erected by Colonel Keefer. The ground floor was used by Leonidas Barnes, a Confederate veteran who had come to Monrovia to open a general store. The second floor was used by the first school and the city's Board of Trustees. Upon the completion of the town hall, city records and business were transferred to it. It was also used as a community building, with the Baptists, Congregationalists and Methodists holding religious services there until their churches were completed.

The first newspaper, The *Monrovia Planet*, got its start when the townsite company donated a city lot to E. L. Buck to construct a two story office. A second newspaper, The *Monrovia Leader*, was started, but the town was too small for both so they combined to form The *Monrovia Messenger*.⁴¹

The banking houses were doing a flourishing business as the demand for Monrovia real estate persisted. William Monroe constructed the Granite Block in April, 1887, for the Granite Bank which had recently been organized, but it was not until the following year that the bank moved into the Granite Building. In May, 1887, the Bank of Monrovia opened its two-storied brick structure

for business. Soon after a building and loan company was organized and opened to provide capital for the land hungry residents.

Two churches, the Methodist⁴² and the Baptist,⁴³ were opened and dedicated by the end of the summer in 1887. William Monroe, as president of the townsite company, had donated property to both for the construction of their churches.⁴⁴

In order to secure funds for a school house and library several of Monrovia's leading real estate agents⁴⁵ held premium auctions. The lots were scheduled for sale at a certain price, and the money above that price was to be donated for the construction of these buildings. These sales realized enough money to start construction of the school building and the public library.⁴⁶

Later additions to the growing business district included many business blocks constructed to be rented to businessmen, a jeweler, livery and feed stable, butcher shop, millinery shop, "emporium" of fashion, hardware store, several drug stores, several real estate offices, lumber yard, a small post office and O. H. Hinter's "tonsorial parlor." Civic minded citizens had even produced plans for a \$20,000 opera house.⁴⁷

The construction of residences kept several companies of tradesmen at work full time. For some time there was an acute shortage of tradesmen and building materials because of the general demand for their services. Already many palatial mansions, complete with the latest interior and exterior embellishments and landscaped gardens, had been erected among the oaks by the leading citizens.

IV. FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO THE SUCCESS

Many who invested in Monrovia were civic-minded men who had faith in the future of the town. They were convinced that their townsite was destined to become "the most beautiful place in the most beautiful valley"⁴⁸ in Southern California. As the population steadily increased a movement for incorporation began. This was largely precipitated by the opening of a saloon in the townsite. The strong local prohibitionist organizations were determined to rid their city of this corrupting influence. When the city's population had reached 500,⁴⁹ a proposal for incorporation was submitted to inhabitants. Notice was given for "the 8th Day of December, 1887, in the town of Monrovia, at the Monrovia Hotel, to determine whether the same shall be incorporated..."⁵⁰ One hundred and nine people voted for incorporation while only one person voted against incorporation.⁵¹ Five trustees, one city clerk, one city treasurer and one city marshal were selected by the people to

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head Monrovia's government. William Monroe became the president of the trustees.

The Board of Trustees met the most pressing threat to the degradation of the city by passing the Saloon Ordinance on December 21, 1887. This ordinance made it "unlawful . . . to establish, open, keep, maintain or carry on within the corporate limits of the city of Monrovia, any tippling house, dram shop, cellar, saloon, bar, barroom, sample room or other places where spirituous, (next word is not legible) malt or mixed liquors are sold . . ." ⁵² Another urgent matter, the accumulation of waste around the city, was rectified when the city purchased a "700 acre sewerage farm" ⁵³ south of the city. The board instructed the city marshal "to employ a wagon one-half day each week, Wednesday and Saturday, to remove all garbage" ⁵⁴ from the city. In addition, the board took under study the demand for more water, better fire protection equipment, health ordinances, a "calaboose for malefactors, revenue for operational expenses and lights to illuminate the recently completed sidewalks."

The immediate cause of Southern California's land boom was the arrival of the Santa Fé Railroad in Southern California in early 1887. ⁵⁵ James Filmore Crank made it possible for the Santa Fé to complete Southern California's second transcontinental railroad, and to challenge the monopolistic control of local transportation held by the Southern Pacific Railroad Company. The construction of this road through the northern half of the San Gabriel Valley was Crank's first and greatest enterprise. ⁵⁶ It was not only profitable to its stockholders but also to the surrounding communities because it opened the great Southwest and added "two million additional customers" ⁵⁷ to Southern California's expanding markets. Soon after their arrival, Santa Fé officials started a vicious rate war which lasted for six months. "Passenger rates from Kansas City to Los Angeles had been \$70.00. For three months tickets sold from Missouri River points to Los Angeles as low as \$5.00, and for one day the fare was \$1.00 for a ride of 2,800 miles." ⁵⁸ The result was an overwhelming migration of visitors and settlers to the southern communities.

The arrival of the Santa Fé road in Monrovia stimulated interest in the city's property. The population at the end of 1886 had passed 300. Exactly one year later population estimates ranged from 1,500 ⁵⁹ to nearly 2,000. ⁶⁰ The new settlers were anxious to share in the development of a prosperous agriculture center in Monrovia.

The Santa Fé depot was "about one mile away from the center of town" and this made "it very inconvenient for the traveling

public.”⁶¹ In order to provide better facilities, Lewis L. Bradbury and local capitalists completed a short railroad line between the depot and the city in May, 1887. This line, the Myrtle Avenue Railroad Company, employed two mules to pull the car and passengers up-hill to the civic center. During the return trip the mules were placed on a small “caboose” and given a free ride down the line to the depot. Later, a second mule-drawn “railroad car,” the Monrovia Street Car Company, was organized to furnish better transportation for those living farther from the civic center.

During the summer of 1887, the San Gabriel Valley Rapid Transit Railroad Company was organized by local investors and businessmen in order to expedite the shipment of agricultural products and passengers between Los Angeles and Monrovia. This narrow gauge electric line was held up for many months when Los Angeles refused to grant terminal facilities, but eventually the line was opened and dedicated by Los Angeles Mayor William Workman who predicted a solid city between Los Angeles and Monrovia. But, this was August of 1888, and the great land boom had begun to falter.

With the start of the land boom, an increasing number of local promoters utilized ingenious and often infamous techniques to becharm purchasers. Newspapers were filled with eye-catching advertisements and propositions. Community boosters disseminated Monrovia's fame to potential investors and neighboring communities. William Monroe led a delegation to the Republican rally and parade in Pasadena during the fall of 1886. He got Republicans and Democrats from Monrovia and Duarte and the group, 153 strong, led the parade with a large banner reading, “As Goes Monrovia so Goes the Nation.”⁶² As the real estate fever began to languish, the Board of Trustees had 5,000 copies of *The Monrovia Messenger*, containing a description of the city, printed and distributed at a S.G.L.I.O.O.F. (San Gabriel Lodge, Independent Order of Odd Fellows) convention in Los Angeles. Perhaps the most convincing testimonies to Easterns were the letters from friends and descriptive issues of the Monrovia newspapers sent to them. These convincing accounts of the climate, agriculture possibilities and real estate values brought many of them to Monrovia.

“Lucky” Baldwin had personally gone to the Midwest to promote the sale of his property. In one interview in the *Louisiana Courier Journal*, Baldwin said, “I consider this valley the paradise of the world. Nothing can excel the climate and the beauty of the country.”⁶³ Promoters, travelers, writers, doctors, and settlers all referred to Monrovia's climate as “agreeable in all respects” for

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young and old, healthy and sickly. Undoubtedly, this mild dry climate was one factor contributing to the popularity of the city.

Monrovia's promoters frequently called attention to the fertile soil, the ample supply of irrigation water and the diversity of possible cash crops. Early settlers discovered that grapes, cereals, vegetables, berries and fruit trees flourished in Monrovia. The agriculture development of the city brought prosperity, prosperity brought more settlers.

The citrus industry was Monrovia's mainstay. The average elevation of 1,000 feet and the San Gabriel Mountains protected the orchards from ruinous frosts and sweeping winds. It was estimated that ten acres of citrus would require an investment of \$3,500⁶⁴ for the first five years, but after three years the young trees would begin to return an ever-increasing profit. After the arrival of the railroads, the number of orchards increased. Some of the fruit was shipped to receptive markets in the East, but most of it was purchased for local consumption.

Promoters were quick to capitalize on the demand for citrus orchards. Promises of "double one's investment within a year," "quick profits" and "an income of \$3,000 a year on five acres of foothill land" filled all newspapers. The quality of the oranges improved with the introduction of the Washington (Bahía) Navel tree, and fruit from these trees sold quickly for \$4.00 a box.⁶⁵ The editor of *The Monrovia Planet* wrote, "They were very large in size, an average on measuring (of) thirteen inches in circumference — and oh! how sweet and delicious."⁶⁶

V. COLLAPSE

The winter of 1887-88 was a particularly bad one for Monrovia. Heavy rains had resulted in some flooding in the valley and adverse articles in Eastern newspapers about the climate of Southern California kept the usual winter tourist crowd away. Real estate sales declined sharply in April, but even the most conservative resident did not take this to mean anything more than a seasonal adjustment. By June, the anticipated demand for property had not materialized. Monrovia had built up rapidly, but it had now come to a standstill as it had over-built.⁶⁷

Easterners had been saturated with information about the prosperity of Southern California. At first it was accepted as the gospel truth and the new arrivals wrote to friends and urged them to move to Southern California, but by the spring of 1888 Eastern newspapers began to cast some doubt on the permanency of South-

ern California's prosperity. The local newspapers dismissed the first comments as signs of jealousy, but, when the tourists and new settlers did not arrive, the frequency of the comments increased, and replies from Western papers gradually diminished. The real estate boom had gradually shriveled up.

The collapse of the land boom brought a termination in the construction of all buildings. Civic improvements and services were sharply curtailed. Plans for the proposed opera house were now ignored, the garbage wagon was discontinued, salaries of city employees and laborers were cut back. Many settlers who had not invested heavily left the city and returned to their former homes. By November, the population within the city had plunged to about 300.⁶⁸ Monrovia's growth and phenomenal increase in property values had ended.

Business conditions were at a standstill. Fifty-two businessmen petitioned the Board of Trustees to "abate the license system on all business for the present . . . on account of the present depression and total stagnation of business of all kinds in our city."⁶⁹ These were dull times for the once flourishing city.

Real estate conditions were as bad. One resident wrote that "when the boom broke you could not sell a lot for love nor money."⁷⁰ The number of sellers greatly exceeded the buyers. The following advertisement for a "two-story house, 'all furnished in good style,' with two lots, for \$1,500,"⁷¹ did not create even a stir of interest. The Granite Bank, which had been built for \$22,000, sold for \$5,000⁷² and this was considered a fair price.

Many lots bought on option reverted to their original owners, but these people had taken out mortgages on their property and were unable to keep up their payments. William Monroe had established a lucrative real estate business during the boom, but his business collapsed as many lots were returned to him.⁷³

In order to avert complete economic collapse many promoters postponed payments; in fact, some even gave the deed to the purchaser after real estate losses increased and the delinquent tax list at the town hall grew steadily. Those who suffered most were the foolish dupes who had gambled on marginal lands, but the honest and innocent were also among the casualties.

The Bank of Monrovia helped avert a complete collapse of business conditions. During the height of the transactions this conservative bank had maintained high interest rates to discourage reckless speculation. When the collapse came its rates were lowered in order to help those in desperation.⁷⁴

The effects of the land boom were not entirely detrimental to

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the development of Monrovia. Some of the more conservative citizens had recognized the boom for what it was, and now with renewed confidence and faith in their community they went to work to salvage that which had not been lost. Although the spirit had waned, it had not been lost for the citizens could still vote to incur a debt of \$50,000 for the construction of a system of sewers and to establish a city fire department.⁷⁵

James M. Guinn concludes, "On the whole, with all its faults and failures, with all its reckless waste and wild extravagances, our boom was more productive of good than of evil to Southern California."⁷⁶

NOTES

1. C. B. Glasscock, Lucky Baldwin, *the Story of an Unconventional Success* (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1933), p. 222.
2. Early historians disagree as to the amount of land purchased and the price paid.
3. Stephen Bowerman, *The Life of Stephen Bowerman. An Autobiography* (Monrovia: By the author, 1925), p. 17.
4. *Los Angeles Tribune*, January 1, 1887.
5. Editorial, *Los Angeles Herald*, February 25, 1888, quoted in *Pasadena Daily Union*, February 29, 1888.
6. This journalistic phrase appeared frequently in contemporary periodicals.
7. Local and neighboring historians are in agreement on the sale of the first lot to Mrs. Katherine Wilson, the amount involved and the cost for lots.
8. Bowerman, "... Autobiography," 16.
9. Joseph Netz, "The Great Los Angeles Real Estate Boom of 1887," *Historical Society of Southern California*, ANNUAL, Vol. 4, Parts 1 and 2 (1915-16) p. 63.
10. Monroe and Pile, *The Monrovia Planet*, December 25, 1886.
11. *Los Angeles Tribune*, January 1, 1888.
12. Editorial, *Los Angeles Herald*, February 25, 1888, quoted in *Pasadena Daily Union*, February 29, 1888.
13. *Ibid.* and Glenn S. Dumke, *The Boom of the Eighties in Southern California* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1944), p. 59.
14. Bowerman, "... Autobiography," 17.
15. Joseph Netz, *Historical Society of Southern California*, ANNUAL, Vol. X, Parts 1 and 2, p. 63.
16. E. R. Cleveland, Letter printed in *The Monrovia Planet*, December 25, 1886.
17. Dumke, *The Boom of the Eighties* ..., p. 222.
18. James Miller Guinn, *A History of California and an Extended History of Its Southern Coast Counties also Containing Biographies of Well-Known Citizens of the Past and Present*, Vol. I (Los Angeles: Historic Records Company, 1907), p. 393.
19. *The Monrovia Planet*, December 25, 1886.
20. *Ibid.*
21. Netz, *Historical Society of Southern California*, ANNUAL, Vol. X, Parts 1 and 2, pp. 63-4.
22. *Los Angeles Times*, March 30, 1887.
23. *Los Angeles Tribune*, February 17, 1888.
24. *Los Angeles Tribune*, March 2, 1888.
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Los Angeles Tribune*, February 17, 1888.
27. *Los Angeles Tribune*, April 28, 1888.
28. *Los Angeles Tribune*, April 20, 1888.
29. James Miller Guinn, "Exceptional Years," *Historical Society of Southern California*, ANNUAL, Vol. V, Part 5 (1890), p. 37.
30. Los Angeles County Board of Equalization, quoted in Guinn, "The Great Real Estate Boom of 1887," *Historical Society of Southern California*, ANNUAL, Vol. I, Part 5 (1890), p. 20.

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31. Will Beach, *Pasadena Daily Union*, January 12, 1888, and *Los Angeles Tribune*, January 13, 1888.
32. Los Angeles County Board of Equalization in July, 1889, quoted in Guinn, *Historical Society of Southern California*, ANNUAL, Vol. I, Part 5, 20.
33. James Miller Guinn, "The Passing of the Rancho," *Historical Society of Southern California*, ANNUAL, Vol. X, Part 1 and 2 (1915-16), p. 52.
34. *Los Angeles Tribune*, January 1, 1888.
35. John L. Wiley, *History of Monrovia* (Pasadena: Press of the *Star-News*, 1927), p. 53.
36. E. R. Cleveland, letter printed in *The Monrovia Planet*, December 25, 1886.
37. *Los Angeles Tribune*, January 9, 1887.
38. *Los Angeles Tribune*, January 24, 1887. The suicide was covered in a detailed first page account.
39. *Los Angeles Tribune*, January 1, 1888.
40. Charles F. Davis and Ellavera Nelson Davis, *Monrovia-Duarte Community Book* (Monrovia: Arthur H. Cawston, Managing Editor and Publisher, 1957), p. 31.
41. *Los Angeles Tribune*, January 1, 1888, stated that this church cost \$8,000.
42. The value of the church is not easy to determine. The following are offered: \$5,500 by the *Los Angeles Tribune*, May 23, 1887; Davis and Davis, *Community Book*, p. 62 says \$7,000; and \$8,000 is mentioned by the *Los Angeles Tribune*, January 1, 1888.
43. Interview with Mrs. George Monroe, February 26, 1960, and *Los Angeles Tribune*, May 23, 1887.
44. Local authorities disagree as to the agents participating in this sale.
45. *Los Angeles Tribune*, January 1, 1888, states that \$18,000 was raised; Wiley, *History of Monrovia*, estimates the figure to be \$10,000.
46. *Los Angeles Tribune*, January 1, 1888.
47. *The Monrovia Planet*, December 18, 1886, quoted in Charles F. Davis, *History of Monrovia and Duarte* (Monrovia: A. H. Cawston, Managing Editor and Publisher of the Commercial Printing Department of the *Monrovia News-Post*, 1938), p. 21.
48. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, City of Monrovia, November 21, 1887.
49. *Ibid.*
50. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, Monday following 8 December, 1887.
51. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, December 21, 1887.
52. *Los Angeles Tribune*, January 1, 1888.
53. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, February 15, 1888.
54. I have found no author who disputes this.
55. Glenn S. Dumke, "The Career of James F. Crank," *The Huntington Quarterly*, Vol. VI (1942-43), p. 313.
56. Alexander Del Mar, "A New California," *The Californian*, Vol. III (March, 1881), p. 211.
57. Netz, *Historical Society of Southern California*, ANNUAL, Vol. X, Part 1 and 2, p. 56.
58. *Los Angeles Tribune*, January 1, 1888 states, "... It now having a population of nearly 1500."
59. Davis and Davis, ... *Community Book*, 21, "... 'close to 2,000 population,' " This figure seems to be a little high.
60. *Los Angeles Times*, March 3, 1887.
61. Wiles, *History of Monrovia*, 54.
62. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, September 6, 1888.
63. Quoted in, *Los Angeles Tribune*, May 23, 1887.
64. *Los Angeles Tribune*, January 1, 1887.
65. *The Monrovia Planet*, December 25, 1886.
66. Editor, *Ibid.*
67. Guinn, *A History of California* ..., Vol. I, p. 393.
68. According to the presidential election of November 1888, 245 citizens within the corporate limits voted.
69. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, May 8, 1888.
70. Bowerman, "... Autobiography," p. 16.
71. Davis, *History of Monrovia* ..., p. 44.
72. Wiley, *History of Monrovia*, p. 57.
73. Interview with Mrs. George Monroe, February 26, 1960.

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74. William Bell Langsdorf, "The Real Estate Boom of 1887 in Southern California" (unpublished Master's thesis, Department of History, Occidental College, 1932), p. 93. The author states that local banks attempted to alleviate the situation by lowering their interest rates from 12 per cent to 6 per cent.
75. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, August 2, 1888.
76. Guinn, *Historical Society of Southern California*, ANNUAL, Vol. I, Part 5, p. 21.

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A Pueblo de Los Angeles Memoir . . .

LOS ANGELES STREET... MAIN STREET

By MARGARET ROMER

Main Street was not the principal street of early American Los Angeles. It received its name through a mistake. In 1849, Lieutenant Edward O. C. Ord of the United States Army made the first survey of Los Angeles. The street now known as Los Angeles, was the main street of the pueblo and was called Calle Principal, or Main Street. However, Lieutenant Ord placed that name on the less important street one block to the west. Then, to correct that error, he had to give the principal street another name, so he christened it Los Angeles Street.

Consequently for many years Los Angeles had the rather absurd situation of having its principal street called Los Angeles, and one of its subordinate streets called Main Street.



BOYLE HEIGHTS . . . *At 25 cents an Acre!*

In the late 1850's when Boyle Heights was first settled on the mesa east of the Los Angeles River, land that did not border on the river was considered worthless and sold for twenty-five cents an acre!




PASADENA LAND . . . *At \$7.50 an Acre!*

. . . Pasadena started in the 1870's as a Hoosier colony on part of the San Pasqual Rancho. The group bought the land from Dr. John S. Griffin for \$7.50 an acre. Dr. Griffin was an ardent Southern sympathizer and he remarked after the sale of the land, "This is once where I got the best of those damned Yankees."

From: Workman, Boyle, *THE CITY THAT GREW*. (Southland Publishing Company, Los Angeles, 1935.) P. 23.

The Number of
California Indians Baptised
During the Mission Period
1770 to 1834

By J. N. Bowman

HE CALIFORNIA INDIANS were a very important factor in the occupation and holding of the province; their conversion in religion and their introduction into the Spanish way of life made possible the land utilization until the Spanish nationals and naturalized aliens could supplant and later supersede the neophytes.

The general political conditions of Europe and its overseas holdings were such in the middle of the eighteenth century as to impel the Spanish government to make an active effort in occupying its somewhat undefined and wholly unprotected territory west of the Mississippi River. The civil and military authorities undertook the occupation and holding of the areas in the immediate vicinity of the missions and the Franciscan Fathers undertook the conversion and civilizing of the natives. The lands pertaining to the Church and the immediate areas were cultivated for the subsistence of the neophytes, the churchmen, the guards and their families, and for surpluses for the presidios and the pueblos. Within five decades the mission lands extended almost unbrokenly from San Diego to Sonoma along the coastal area, a distance of 228 leagues (593 miles) as computed by the padres.

Both the civil and religious agencies were interested in the progress of the Indian conversions and the mission development. Yearly reports were made to the Monterey government and to the religious control in Mexico City, showing the number of baptisms, marriages and deaths annually and cumulatively together with the details of the general conditions.

The end of the year 1834 is taken as the end of the mission period. The decree of secularization of 1833 was put into effect in

twelve of the missions in 1833, four in 1834 and 1835. A few reports were made to the end of 1832, a very few were made to the end of 1834, but none were made after that year.

The baptisms were recorded in the Books of Baptisms with the marginal cumulative serial numbers for all baptisms and occasionally a second cumulative numbering in parentheses for the "razones" or whites, only. Annual and biennial reports were made to Mexico City as of the last day of each year. A composite report of all the missions was made annually to the civil authorities in Monterey with copies sent to the religious authorities in Mexico City. These are the two sources — the Books of Baptisms and the yearly reports — for the computation of the number of Indians baptized, since no specific report has ever been made of the number of Indians converted. The Books of Baptisms of twenty of the twenty-one missions are still in existence. That of Mission San Luis Rey was already reported lost early in 1847. Their final marginal numbers for the end of 1834 (or corrected numbers where errors in numbering occurred in six missions were found) can be taken as the total number of baptisms of both whites and Indians. The one exception is that of Mission San Diego: the fire of 1775, the time of the Indian massacre, destroyed the mission books; from memory the padres recalled the baptisms from the beginning to the date of the massacre but without numbers or dates. Their number so recalled totaled 330 and is therefore an estimate, but is the best available figure as to the actual facts in the case. For Mission San Luis Rey the number of baptisms to 1832 is taken from yearly reports¹ and estimated for 1834 on the basis of the average annual increase of the preceeding ten years. These figures and the corrected figures of the Books of Baptisms with the estimates for San Diego and San Luis Rey give the only available totals.

This total cannot be taken as exact for various reasons: (1) a slight error is found in the few cases where the padres forgot or failed to record baptisms actually made — perhaps 100 during the mission period; (2) the annual figures of the various reports do not always agree with the final annual figures of the Books of Baptisms; (3) the correctness and the method of the actual annual count as reported by the padres are not known; (4) the errors made by the padres in writing the marginal numbers and misreading the preceding figures, most of which were corrected by the padres before the end on 1834; and, (5) the estimates needed for figures for San Diego where the earliest entries were made from memory, and for San Luis Rey whose last reported figures were for 1832. The totals may have the proportional correctness of the U. S. decennial censuses.

Indians Baptised During the Mission Period

The totals of all the baptisms are as follow for the end of 1834 in part I of the following table.

BAPTISMS TO THE END OF 1834

Mission	I. TOTAL Book of Baptisms	Corrected	Estimated	Reported Estimate	Total
Carmel.....		3,922			
Dolores.....		7,121			
Purísima.....		3,214			
San Antonio.....	4,468				
San Diego.....			6,638		
San Fernando.....	2,839				
San Gabriel.....	8,025				
San Jose.....		7,319			
San Juan Bautista.....	4,122				
San Juan Capistrano.....	4,404				
San Luis Obispo.....	2,727				
San Luis Rey.....				5,649	
San Miguel.....	2,588				
San Rafael.....	1,841				
Santa Barbara.....	4,593				
Santa Clara.....	8,706				
Santa Cruz.....	2,232				
Santa Ines.....		1,390			
Soledad.....	2,232				
Sonoma.....		1,217			
Ventura.....	3,877				
	52,654	24,183	6,638	5,649	89,124

BAPTISMS TO THE END OF 1834

Mission	Count	II. WHITES Estimated	Total	Mission	III. INDIANS Secular	Total
Carmel.....	895					
Dolores.....	473					
Purísima.....	40					
San Antonio.....		20				
San Diego.....	714					
San Fernando.....	58					
San Gabriel.....	925 ²					
San Jose.....	55					
San Juan Bautista.....	155					
San Juan Capistrano.....		80				
San Luis Obispo.....	25					
San Luis Rey.....	85					
San Miguel.....		25				
San Rafael.....	1					
Santa Barbara.....	1					
Santa Clara.....	747					
Santa Cruz.....	7					
Santa Ines.....	47					
Soledad.....	44					
Sonoma.....	1					
Ventura.....	67					
	4,340	125	4,465 a	84,659 b	149	84,808 c

a) Five percent of total.

b) 89,124 less 4,465.

c) Or 84,810 including the infant children baptized by Gómez and Crespi in 1769.

This total of 89,124 is the total number of baptisms made in the missions during the Mission Period to the end of 1834; the number of Indian baptisms during this period must be computed from this total by deducting the number of whites baptized during the same period. This deductible number was obtained by an actual count of the whites baptized down to the end of 1834 in nine of the missions with estimates for three, and Engelhardt's figures for "whites" were used for nine missions.³ The totals and the estimates are shown in Section II of the above table. A total of 4,465 whites were baptized in the missions by the end of 1834, which was five percent of the total mission baptisms. This leaves 84,659 Indians baptized in the missions during the period.

Before 1834 there were two secular churches, not part of the mission system, which kept Books of Baptisms, Marriages and Deaths. The Santa Barbara Presidio Church was active from 1782 to 1786 when the Mission of that name was founded, but during these four years no Indians were recorded as baptized. At the Los Angeles Plaza Church the records from 1826 to 1834 show 149 Indians were baptized.⁴ The other secular churches kept no books during the mission period.⁵

This means a total of 84,808 Indians were baptized in California missions and secular churches from 1770 to the end of 1834, or 84,810 Indians were baptized in the province — including the infant children baptized by Gomez and Crespi in 1769.⁶

The classes of baptisms in Alta California during the Mission Period is shown in the following table.

BAPTISMS IN ALTA CALIFORNIA TO THE END OF 1834

	Total	Whites	Indians
Portola Expedition	2	0	2
In the missions	89,124	4,465	84,659
Not recorded	1007	57	957
In secular churches			
Santa Barbara Presidio	1,086	1,086	0
Los Angeles Plaza Church	479	330	149
TOTAL	90,791	5,886	84,905

The above figures may be regarded as conservative, if anything slightly under the actual but unknown figures, due to the probable failure of the padres to recall all the baptisms of San Diego down to 1775 and also due to the two necessary estimates for the last years of the mission period.

No estimate of the number of Indian baptisms during the mis-

Indians Baptised During the Mission Period


sion period has been found; Engelhardt, however, gives the count of baptisms in the missions to the end of 1832 as 87,789, and gives the total number "in round numbers" for 1834 as 89,800.⁸ This estimate is quite close to the above figure of 89,124 for the missions only.

NOTES

1. Engelhardt in his *Mission San Luis Rey* (San Francisco, 1921), 220, compiled the annual mission figures from the yearly reports to 1832.
2. Engelhardt in his *Mission San Gabriel* (San Gabriel, 1927), 269, gives 876 for 1832; based on the average annual increase of the ten preceeding years the figure is 925 for 1834.
3. Engelhardt's figures were those of Carmel, Purisima, San Diego, San Fernando, San Gabriel, San Juan Bautista, San Luis Rey, Santa Ines and Ventura. The estimates were for San Antonio, San Juan Capistrano and San Miguel.
4. The Santa Barbara Presidio baptized 1,086 whites between 1782 and 1786 when the mission was founded but no Indians were recorded. The Los Angeles Plaza Church baptized 330 whites and 149 Indians between 1826 and the end of 1834. This means a total of 5,881 whites were baptized in the province between 1771 and the end of 1834 or 4,465 in the missions alone. William M. Mason, of Los Angeles, kindly made the count of the Indians baptized in the Plaza Church Book of Baptisms.
5. The Book of Baptisms of St. Joseph's in San Jose began in 1849; that of the presidial church in Monterey was opened for entries in 1869. Missions San Diego, San Francisco and Santa Cruz served their respective presidios and the villa of Branciforte during the Mission Period.
6. The first Indians baptized in California were the two dying infant children baptized by Gomez and Crespi on July 22, 1769; the first Indian baptized in the missions was on December 26, 1770, at San Carlos.
7. Based on non-recording of baptisms of several children of General Vallejo, especially his first child, and on the belated entries in the Mission Dolores Books. The division between whites and Indians is based on the five percent whites of the mission totals.
8. Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries* (San Francisco, 1913), III, 653.

California's Twelve Flags

By Norman Precoda

HE ORIGIN OF THE NAME CALIFORNIA IS OBSCURE. The name "*Califerne*" occurs in "The Song of Roland," one of the great medieval epics based on the legend of Charlemagne, completed towards the end of the eleventh century. We note too, that in ancient times there actually was a city named California in northern Africa.

But it is more probable that the name California was taken from "The Exploits of Esplandián," a highly imaginative romance of chivalry written by García Rodríguez de Montalvo, published in Toledo, Spain, about 1510. It tells of a mythical island called California, ruled by the beautiful Calafia, an island of steep rocks and great cliffs, a far-away fabulous land, a kind of Utopia or El Dorado. Early explorers moving westward across Mexico had come upon the 700-mile long Gulf of California and concluded that the land on the opposite side was an island which extended north from Baja. The romantic novel was widely read in the early sixteenth century, so that the story and name were well known about the time Lower California was discovered by Fortunato Ziménez in 1533. The Spaniards named this "island" California, and thus it remained on their maps for nearly two centuries.

This was an era of exploration for the Spanish rather than colonization; dreams of a direct opening to the Indies filled men's minds. But, for all that, the Spaniards scarcely knew California and then only as a rather barren land, for they had touched the coast at only a few points, their selection of the name shows that the conquistadors mixed poetry and novels of romance and chivalry with the somewhat more dangerous business of exploration.

Some say that navigators even before Cabrillo referred to this land as California. The terms Upper and Lower, or Alta and Baja California, as the Spanish would say, were not used or not used widely until several hundred years later — until about the time Spain began actual colonization of the new region.

But all this is prelude and part of the astounding history of the California region. History is prone to weave strange patterns and

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often-times the more closely we look, the more complex these patterns seem to be. The primary themes of history grow and change and disappear, and there are numerous secondary threads which modify the design and alter the weave. Thus it has been with California, and particularly so during the last five hundred years. We shall essay, in the following, to reconstruct something of this moving pattern and panorama, to describe some of the principal events represented so clearly and eloquently by the many and varied flags which have successively overflowed California, and finally, to interject and describe some of the secondary threads, the simultaneously occurring and often less important events which have affected the main currents of history and in turn been affected by them.

SPANISH EMPIRE

The Royal Standard of Carlos V. A shield bearing the quartered arms of Castile and Leon ensigned with the royal crown and encircled by the collar of the Golden Fleece, all on a white background. (Prior to 1785 there was no national flag, so the Royal Standard was used.)

The year was 1542, a half century after the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus; Henry VIII was on England's throne; Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor; Elizabeth I was a 9-year-old girl; the future Sir Francis Drake, a small boy.

Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo, a Portuguese navigator in the Spanish service, left Navidad on Mexico's west coast and sailed northward on a voyage of exploration. He first saw the California mainland on September 28, 1542, discovered San Diego Bay, then Santa Catalina Island, and next, San Pedro and Santa Monica Bays. On October 10, 1542, at a spot near Point Mugu, Cabrillo raised the flag of the Spanish Empire and took possession of California for Spain. Continuing along the coast to discover Monterey Bay and Point Reyes, he sailed on to Cape Mendocino before being driven back by storms; he returned to San Miguel Island, died, and was buried there.

Under orders from Gaspar de Zúñiga, Count of Monte-rey, the viceroy of Mexico, Sebastián Viscaíno made an effort, in 1586 to establish colonies on the peninsula of California but was unsuccessful, due both to the general unfriendliness of the Indians and to the barrenness of the soil. Viscaíno visited Upper California in 1602, discovered and renamed some of the places Cabrillo had found and named. The Port of San Miguel of Cabrillo, Viscaíno called Port San Diego; Cape Galera he named Cape Conception, the Port of

Pines was named Port Monterey in honor of the viceroy. This was the last Spanish expedition along the California coast for more than 160 years.

ENGLISH FLAG

The Cross of St. George; a red cross on a white field.

Elizabeth I was on England's throne; Philip II in Spain; a long period of conflict between England and Spain culminated finally in defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588.

English buccaneers, or privateers as they might more delicately be termed, since they generally sailed under formal license from the government, were active during this period. Francis Drake, with the financial assistance of friends, fitted out a buccaneering expedition against the Spanish, which ultimately led him around the globe. While sailing along the American coast, capturing and plundering Spanish towns and such ships as came his way, Drake passed through the Straits of Magellan and to the western coast of South America. After a long voyage and some severe storms his ship, the *Golden Hind*, finally put in for repairs in a small bay in the San Francisco area.

There on June 17, 1579, the *Golden Hind* anchored, and Drake planted the English flag and claimed all the land for England. The ship stayed for thirty-six days, during which time Drake's men made friends with the Indians and explored the country, naming it New Albion because of the nearby white cliffs. Upon departing, Drake emplaced an identifying brass plate in order to record the visit and support the English claim.

Queen Elizabeth knighted Drake for his services on this and earlier expeditions but took no steps to secure the country. (The brass plate was discovered in 1936 on the west coast north of San Francisco Bay.)

RUSSIAN NATIONAL ENSIGN

A blue Cross of St. Andrew on a field of white.

For Russia the eighteenth century was a turbulent time: wars in the west, exploration and expansion in the east. The century began with Russia's great innovator, Peter, on the throne and closed with Catherine the Great.

In the year 1724, Vitus Jonassen Bering, Danish-born explorer, was sent by Peter the Great to explore the eastern regions. He charted the Siberian shores, showed that Asia was not jointed to

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America, and in 1731 sighted the American coast. On a second expedition Bering visited numerous islands and in 1741 located the American mainland.

Rich furs drew the Russians beyond the Urals, to conquest of Siberia, and finally, to the American continent. The beauty and great value of the fur of the sea otter as well as that of seal and blue fox led to outfitting many ships to exploit the new wealth.

Gradual depletion of furs plus the excesses of traders led, in 1799, to a Russian attempt to organize American operations more efficiently. Thus the Russian-American Fur Company was chartered and granted exclusive rights to the exploitation of all natural resources in the Russian possessions.

RUSSIAN-AMERICAN FUR COMPANY (House Flag)

A broad white band bordered below by a narrow blue and then a red stripe; a Russian double eagle in gold, superimposed upon the white.

Disregarding protests from the Spanish government in California, the Company established a trading post and colony at Bodega Bay in 1812 and a few years later, another at Fort Ross, not far north of San Francisco. The settlements were founded chiefly to supply the company with agricultural products but also as bases for hunting seal and otter which abounded on the coast and nearby islands. (They hunted even in San Francisco Bay.) The colonies flourished for a time, but later economic difficulties caused the Russians to lose interest in the ventures. In 1842 the Russians gave up their claims on the California coast.

Decreasing Russian interest led, in 1860, to non-renewal of the Company's Royal Charter and subsequently to the desire to sell all American holdings to the United States.

PRIVATEER'S FLAG

Three equi-width bars, the outer of blue and the center, white; a yellow sun implanted hoistward on the white bar.

Hippolyte Bouchard, on a French privateer flying the revolutionary flag of Buenos Aires, landed at Monterey in 1818 and raised his flag over the Customs House. Occupying Monterey for a time, he raided the village and then plundered Refugio Rancho just north of Santa Barbara. Anchoring briefly at Santa Barbara, he exchanged prisoners with the Spanish-Americans but did not disturb the settle-

ment. After a final stop at San Juan Capistrano, December 14-16, and burning a few huts, he sailed away.

SPANISH NATIONAL ENSIGN

A broad yellow band bordered at top and bottom by a red stripe, hoistward on the yellow, an escutcheon bearing a crown and showing the arms of Castile and León side by side.

The Ensign replaced the Royal Standard as the national emblem and flew over California from 1785 to 1821, at which time New Spain declared her independence and became known as the free state of Mexico.

Due to fear of Russian explorations in Alaska and to the need for a refitting point on the California coast for galleons from Manila, the Spanish began to take serious interest in Upper California, founding San Diego in 1769 and Monterey the following year.

Under orders from Carlos V, and in charge of the first colonizing expedition, Governor Gaspar de Portolá was accompanied by the remarkable Franciscan, Padre Junípero Serra, with his dream of founding a series of missions approximately one day's horseback ride apart. Thus began the unique heritage of the Spanish occupation of California: the development of a chain of twenty-one Franciscan missions from San Diego in the south to Sonoma in the north; the first founded in 1769, the last in 1823.

As in other of her border provinces, Spanish occupation and influence relied on three institutions: the presidio, the pueblo, and the mission. The first were essentially military garrisons and, in California were established at San Diego and Santa Barbara, and later at Monterey and San Francisco. Pueblos were free settlements, not under missionary control and of these were three: Nuestra Señora de los Ángeles, San José, and Branciforte, near the Santa Cruz mission. Missions had as their primary aim the conversion of Indians but were also agricultural centers. Economically the missions grew and prospered and became, in effect, large-scale production units with herds, granaries, groves, and workshops.

During this period, and nearly three thousand miles to east, feelings between King George III and the English colonists boiled over. In 1776 the Americans declared themselves free and independent of England.

A colonizing expedition under Juan Bautista de Anza arrived at San Francisco and in the same year the capital of Alta and Baja California was transferred from Loreto to Monterey.

Unrest in Mexico and dissatisfaction with Spanish rule led to

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revolution in 1811, but the uprising failed. California remained loyal to Spain.

In 1813 the Spanish Cortes ordered the secularization of all missions in America within ten years; the decree remained unpublished in California until 1821.

MEXICAN EMPIRE

Three vertical equi-width bars of green, white, and red; a Mexican eagle on the center white bar with a serpent in its talons and nearly encircled by a wreath.

A long period of unrest and uprisings culminated, by the Treaty of Iquala on February 24, 1821, in Mexican independence from Spain. The agreement is symbolized by the three colors of the flag representing respectively, the three guarantees of the treaty: conservation of the Roman Catholic Church, independence from Spain, and a limited monarchy. The design superposed on the white field was derived from an old Aztec legend foretelling the location of what is now Mexico City:

They beheld, perched on the stem of a prickly pear, . . . a royal eagle of extraordinary size and beauty, with a serpent in his talons and his broad wings open to the sun.

Thus Mexico became independent of Spain and California passed under Mexican control. In November, 1882, Don Luis Argüello was elected the first governor of Upper, or Alta, California.

MEXICAN REPUBLIC

Virtually identical to the flag of the Mexican Empire, with slight changes in the eagle-serpent design — relative size of the eagle was increased and the wreath shortened.

Collapse of the Mexican Empire in 1824 was followed by the Republic. A Federal Constitution somewhat similar to that of the United States was proclaimed on October 4, 1824.

Upon collapse of the Mexican Empire authority, the Monterey Spanish-Americans were at first undecided but finally raised the flag of the United States of Mexico, "los Estados Unidos Mejicanos."

Population was the basis for the federal states and because of insufficient for a representative in the Mexican Congress who sat in the assembly and could participate in debate but had no vote. The Republic was represented in California Territory by a commande-general who was nominal governor.

The two decades after 1824 were an era of complex local politics

and change. There were the secularization of the missions in 1833, the development of local patriotic sentiment into a political force, the growth of republicanism; there was increase in trade, immigration, and in foreign influence.

The westward pull was strong. In 1826 American hunters first crossed to the Pacific Coast.

In 1835 President Polk made an offer to Mexico to buy northern California including San Francisco Bay. His offer was refused.

FREMONT FLAG

Thirteen red and white stripes; hoistward and on a white background, an eagle clutching a sheaf of arrows. A row of thirteen stars both above and below the eagle. Later, the arrows were crossed by a Pipe of Peace in order to allay fears of the Indians who interpreted the arrows to mean war.

This was the flag John Charles Frémont, Captain, U. S. Topographic Engineers, raised at each camp during his explorations in the California region from 1843-1846. The extent to which these expeditions were scientific explorations is obscure, for Frémont was an ambitious man and this was an era of "Manifest Destiny."

Although Frémont is considered by some to be the conqueror of California because of his exploits with such small forces against far superior numbers, Commodore Robert F. Stockton is generally credited with final reduction of the country. Stockton's energetic and remarkably daring actions in large part broke the spirit of resistance and reconciled the people to the change in government.

Frémont, in his *Geographical Memoir of California*, published in 1848, seems to have been the first to use the term, Golden Gate, for the entrance to the Bay of San Francisco. The name was probably suggested by the Golden Horn of Constantinople and referred to the rich and fertile country surrounding the bay and to the wealth which Pacific commerce passing through the strait would surely give to the future great city of the place.

CALIFORNIA REPUBLIC

A broad white band edged at the bottom by a red stripe; a five-pointed red star in the upper hoistward corner with a facing figure of a grizzly; the words, CALIFORNIA REPUBLIC, beneath the star and bear.

Encouraged, if not directly aided by Frémont, settlers at Sonoma, the northernmost town of any importance, revolted against

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Mexican authority and on June 14, 1846, raised the Bear Flag. On July 4th, they issued a proclamation declaring California to be free and independent.

The Bear Flag Revolt, a small disingenuous affair, was soon submerged in far deeper currents. On July 7, 1846, Commodore John D. Sloat raised the United States flag over Monterey and claimed California for the United States. Flying over Sonoma for twenty-five days, the Bear Flag was withdrawn and replaced by the United States flag on July 9, 1846.

UNITED STATES

The United States flag of 1846: twenty-eight stars in 4 rows on a blue field and 13 stripes.

Following outbreak of the United States-Mexican War, Commodore Sloat, commanding the U. S. Pacific Squadron, took possession of Monterey and San Francisco. The U. S. flag was raised over the Monterey Customs House, July 9, 1846, and all California soil claimed for the United States. As the brunt of the conquest fell upon the U. S. Navy, the national colors were carried throughout the territory by members of the Navy and the Marine Corps.

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, signed on February 2, 1848, ended hostilities and the war. The treaty provided for annexation by the United States of California and New Mexico.

Upon gaining possession and taking up the question of what to do with California, Congress immediately became embroiled in the issue of slavery. Clay, Calhoun, and Webster joined battle on the issue, and Congress took no action for the next two sessions.

On January 24, 1848, at John Sutter's mill in the valley of Coloma, gold was discovered and caught men's imaginations around the world. They came to California from South America, from Africa, Asia, and Australia, from Europe and the Orient. The trickle became a stream and then a torrent, and still they came. Within one year the population of San Francisco grew from about 850 to 35,000 and continued to grow.

California's first constitution was framed by a convention meeting in Monterey and proclaimed by the U. S. military governor, Bennet Riley, in the year, 1849.

On September 9, 1850, California entered the Union as a free and sovereign state. After having moved from Monterey to San José, to San Francisco, and to Benicia, the capital was finally settled at Sacramento.

CALIFORNIA STATE FLAG

Basically the flag of the Bear Flag Revolt, but no longer "made of odds and ends of cloth and coloring matter" but a beautiful piece of work; the grizzly bear stands on a green patch, the words, California Republic, below.

The Bear Flag was adopted as California's official state flag, February 3, 1911. Differences existed with respect to the Bear Flag; of the two "original" flags, one showed the bear standing upright, the other on all fours. Both these flags were lost in the San Francisco earthquake and fire of 1906. The California legislature, in 1953, passed a bill designating a design for purpose of standarization.

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Yugoslavs in California

By Wayne S. Vucinich

THE YUGOSLAVS ARE ONE OF THE LARGEST GROUPS of America's foreign born citizens and yet no one has ever attempted to write their history. A few articles which have appeared in the *immigré* journals are written in a filiopietistic tone by amateurs. Before a definitive history of Yugoslav immigrants can be written, it will be necessary to obtain access to widely scattered source materials. This can be accomplished only with the cooperation of the various Yugoslav organizations in this country. Much useful information, however, might be obtained by interviewing the few early immigrants who are still living. Census reports, immigration records, probate papers, FBI and OSS files, and many American Yugoslav journals should contain a wealth of information.

No attempt will be made in this article to provide a definitive study of the Yugoslav immigrants in the United States. The purpose of the article is two-fold: to cite the salient moments in the history of the Yugoslav immigrants in California, and thus to suggest possible topics for more specific inquiry; and to describe some aspects of the social transformation and assimilation of Yugoslav immigrants. But first of all it is important to examine the statistics and distribution of the Yugoslav immigrants in this country. The table below shows the number of Yugoslavs in the United States and in California, both foreign born (FB) and native born (NB).

YUGOSLAVS IN THE UNITED STATES AND IN CALIFORNIA

UNITED STATES

	By Country F. B.	Origin N. B.	Total
1910	21,451*	1,234*	22,685*
1920	169,437	11,022*	180,459*
1930	211,416	257,979	469,395
1940	161,093	222,300	383,393
1950	143,956	239,920	383,876

CALIFORNIA

	By Country F. B.	Origin N. B.	Total
1910	880*	96*	
1920	7,279	861*	
1930	12,743	11,525	24,268
1940	11,670	13,380	25,050
1950	13,801	20,445	34,246

*. Figures indicate immigrants from Bulgaria, Serbia and Montenegro.

Sources: **Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910.** Volume I. Population 1910. General Report and Analysis. Washington, 1913. Pp. 834-35, 838-39, 915-16, 924. **Fourteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1920.** Volume I. Population

Yugoslavs in this country believe that there are more than twice as many of their nationals in the United States as the official figures indicate.¹ The United States census for 1950 shows that there were 34,246 (foreign-born 13,801) and (native-born 20,445) Yugoslavs in California, but Yugoslav spokesmen estimate that there are between 80,000 and 100,000. The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 increased the Yugoslav immigration quota to 933,² although many thousands were admitted to the country after 1941 as displaced persons and political refugees under the Displaced Persons Act of 1948 and the Refugee Relief Act of 1953. Between the years 1948 and 1955, according to official figures, 33,174 displaced persons of Yugoslav origin were admitted.³

First Yugoslavs in California

The Yugoslav immigration to California came in waves. The first immigrants arrived before the discovery of gold in 1848 and information about them is non-existent. There probably were less than a dozen of them and most likely they were adventurers and stranded seamen. We know, for example, that a lawyer, A. D. Splivalo, came from Peljesac around Cape Horn to San Francisco in 1832, and that he was originally a sea captain. The Yugoslav emigrants joined others who rushed to California following the discovery of gold. By 1850-51, there was a group of Yugoslavs in San Francisco — probably less than fifty in number. They came by vessels around Cape Horn and by way of the Isthmus of Panama. It is unlikely that any of them reached California by overland trails in covered wagons, as some Yugoslavs like to believe.

By 1857 there were already enough immigrants in San Francisco to organize the first Yugoslav society — the Slavonic Illyrian Mutual Benevolent Society. This was, as the title suggests, a patriotic Yugoslav organization, founded sixty-one years before the emergence of Yugoslavia in 1918. The name Illyrian was the term then used to indicate South Slav or Yugoslav ethnic affinity, and the term Slavonian seemed almost redundant, unless it was intended to show that the "Illyrians" were of "Slavonic" stock. Napoleon was the first to give this meaning to the term "Illyrian" when he established a short-lived Illyrian Province (1809-1814) embracing

1920. General Report and Analysis. Washington, 1922. Pp. 698, 707-709, 726, 910-12, 925, 990-92, 1005.

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certain Yugoslav lands. In the first half of the nineteenth century the Yugoslav provinces witnessed a growth of the so-called "Illyrianism" (Yugoslavism) in literature and political thought. The society in San Francisco was but an echo of this old country movement. The official languages of the society were English and "Slavonian" — the latter known today as the Serbian or Croatian, or Serbo-Croatian. The society, which was the center of Yugoslav cultural and social activity, extended help to many needy persons, including stranded sailors. As it grew, it expanded its activities; it even acquired its own cemetery in which many of its members and other Yugoslavs are buried. The society still exists, having deleted the word "Illyrian" from its official title in 1923. Had its archives not been destroyed in the San Francisco fire of 1906, our information about the Yugoslav immigrants in the nineteenth century would be far more complete.

Most of these nineteenth-century immigrants were middle-aged bachelors, and many of them never married. In those days, it was difficult to make long journeys to the old country in order to find a spouse; it was just as difficult for the relatives to have the prospective bride shipped to America. Most of those who married took California-born girls for their wives. The first Yugoslav child born in California (in 1860) was the daughter of a Yugoslav immigrant father and an American-born mother. This child inaugurated the California-born generation of Yugoslav Americans and died an aged lady in San Francisco in 1926.

Between the 'sixties and the 'eighties the number of Yugoslav immigrants in California, as well as in the United States, grew steadily. Some of them reached important positions in American society. A Californian, Vincent Gelcich, native of Starigrad, Dalmatia, served as a doctor with the rank of colonel in the Federal Army during the Civil War. Many of them in this period were a part of the Pullman Migration that followed the completion of the trans-continental railway in 1869. John Tadich, also a native of Starigrad, has recorded experiences he and seven other immigrants shared in crossing the American West in 1871: "Whenever our train would stop on a side-track, hundreds of Indians and their squaws, with papooses on their backs, would gather around the train. They were just as curious about us as we were about them. Another interesting thing to me was my first sight of a group of Chinese."⁴ One can well imagine what impression the Indians and Chinese must have made on the Yugoslav immigrants, who had never before seen members of the yellow race.

The uncertainties which accompanied the Balkan crisis of 1875-78, and the growing oppression of the South Slavs by the Habsburg rulers, as well as the general travel improvements and increasing opportunities in California, encouraged Yugoslav immigration to the United States in the ensuing years. However, there were less than fifteen hundred Yugoslav immigrants in California in 1880, most of them located in San Francisco and its environs. Compared to the total population of California (864,694 in that year), the number of Yugoslavs was insignificant.

The immigrants after 1876 were more narrowly nationalistic than their precursors. They showed the effects of the Austro-Hungarian divide-and-rule policy and of the latest ideological currents that were sweeping Europe. In their political outlook the immigrants were less "Illyrian" and "Slavonian," the terms denoting South Slav solidarity, and more inclined to favor Croatian, Slovene, or Serbian ethnic exclusiveness. The First Serbian Benevolent Society was founded in San Francisco in 1880.

In consequence, the ethnic and social harmony which had prevailed among the early immigrants, and which had been fostered by the Slavonic Illyrian Benevolent Society, was undermined. The recent comers and changed political atmosphere in the old country aroused latent national and religious hatred among the immigrants. New societies and clubs were founded, but henceforth they were guided for the most part by chauvinist and religious principles and involved the immigrants in perpetual mutual recriminations. On the occasion of the San Francisco Mid-Winter Fair in 1893 bitter squabbles broke out among the Yugoslavs over the question of precedence that different ethnic groups and societies should have in a parade arranged for that occasion. It was at this time that the Croats founded their separate society, "Zvonimir," (1893), and the "Serbian-Montenegrin Society" came into being.

In the early 'nineties there also appeared in San Francisco the "Austria Military" society and later, societies of the same type and name appeared in Watsonville and San Jose. The members were disparagingly referred to as the "Austriaks" — i.e. those who supported the Habsburg monarchy. Much reduced in size and somewhat transformed in character, these societies have survived until today. Their members, and certain other immigrants, though ethnically Slav, espoused the cause of Austro-Hungary, and in 1916, when Kaiser Francis Joseph died, they mourned his passing. Until very recently one might still have seen in the homes of some Croats and Slovenes simple pictures of the revered emperor.

This fragmentation and disunity in the South Slav colonies

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intensified with every wave of fresh immigrants during the two decades preceding the outbreak of World War I. The Serbs boasted of their glorious history and national heroism, and the Croats were proud of a "thousand years of culture." But there were also squabbles one might define as intra-ethnic. In some cases feelings of provincialism seemed stronger than common ethnic background. An example of this was the struggle for leadership among the Serbs of Boka Kotorska, Hercegovina and Montenegro — each claiming to epitomize the best type of Serb. This conflict led to the dropping of the word "Montenegrin" from the name of the Serbian society. Similar tendencies were manifested among the Croats of different islands and provinces, and to a lesser degree among the maritime and continental Slovenes.

The formation of narrow nationalistic parties in the old country, such as those led by Ante Starcevic and Josip Frank in Croatia, and the political developments, such as the Austro-Hungarian annexation of Bosnia and Hercegovina in 1908, damaged relations among the Serbian and Croatian immigrants. Then, as well as today, the Serbian and Croatian nationalists each claimed Bosnia and Hercegovina, two provinces with inextricably mixed populations, as their historic and ethnic lands.

There were, however, still organizations which stood for ethnic solidarity of the Slavs. Committed to the cause of Yugoslav liberation and unification, for example, were the Croatian Sokol organizations (modeled on the Czech gymnastic organization of that name, founded by Dr. Tyrs in 1865) in Oakland (1910) and San Francisco (1911). Comparable Serbian Sokol organizations founded in San Francisco in 1912, and somewhat later in Los Angeles and Oakland, were short-lived. The most thriving was the San Francisco Croatian Sokol, which, after World War I, changed its name to the Yugoslav Sokol.

When the Balkan War broke out in 1912, hundreds of American Serbs volunteered to fight on the side of Serbia and Montenegro against the Turkish "infidel." In Fresno, for example, a mass meeting was held in the Civic Auditorium, financial aid was collected and twenty-one immigrants enlisted to serve in the Montenegrin army; the Serbian Society "Adriatic" donated \$4,000 to help defray the cost of transportation and to assure quick passage to Europe.

The Serbian immigrants, most of them from territories under the rule of Austria-Hungary, as well as many Croats and Slovenes, saw in the strengthening of Serbia and Montenegro the beginning of a "Greater Serbia" or "Yugoslavia" which would emerge from the

ruins of the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian empires. They took pride in every success of Serbian arms against the hated Turks, who enjoyed the friendship of Austria-Hungary and Germany, the other two "traditional enemies" of the Slavs!

Reaction to World War I

When a Serbian patriotic, Gavrilo Princip, assassinated Archduke Francis Ferdinand in June, 1914 — an event used as a pretext for World War I — the Serbs were jubilant, and so were those Croats and Slovenes who were anti-Habsburg. Once again many Serbs, and this time also some Croats and Slovenes, enlisted in the Serbian army to help defend Serbia and Montenegro from the Austro-Hungarian onslaught. Many immigrants seemed willing to cast aside their national and religious bickerings and work together toward the supreme goal of Yugoslav unification.

As World War I progressed, "Yugoslavism" — the concept of South Slav national unity — began to appeal to a steadily increasing number of South Slavs. There were Croat, Slovene and Serbs spokesmen and organizations which advocated and publicized the idea of Yugoslav unity, gathered money for the cause of Serbia and Montenegro, and tried to influence the American public and official opinion to favor the emancipation of the non-German and non-Magyar nationalities from the Austro-Hungarian "ramshackle empire."

The diplomatic representatives of the Kingdom of Serbia worked tirelessly to win the full backing and support of the Serbian immigrants. The emissaries of the Yugoslav Committee, established in London by prominent Croat, Serbian, and Slovene refugees from Austria-Hungary, traveled from one Yugoslav colony in America to another, propagating the cause of Yugoslav unity and soliciting aid. Michael Pupin, the eminent Serb immigrant and professor of physics at Columbia University, and many other prominent persons visited Yugoslav settlements, collected funds, and recruited volunteers. The success in enlisting the support of the immigrants might have been greater had there been complete unanimity between the Yugoslav Committee which advocated a federalized and democratic "Yugoslavia" and the representatives of the Serbian government, then in exile on the island of Corfu, who aspired toward a Greater Serbia or a Serbian dominated Yugoslavia.

Most Yugoslav immigrants enthusiastically approved the United States' entrance into war against the Central Powers in April, 1917. Many of them served in the American armed forces and some

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distinguished themselves for gallantry in military operations against the enemy. There were also those who, either from conviction or opportunism, identified themselves as Austro-Hungarians, and therefore, as enemy aliens, were not subject to military service. In any case, wartime association of the United States with Serbia and Slavs in general, coupled with the Wilsonian declarations, furthered the idea of Yugoslav unity in this country. The Yugoslav immigrants recognized the contribution that Wilson played in bringing about a Yugoslav state. For this more than any other reason, until the election of President Eisenhower in 1952, the majority of the Yugoslavs regularly cast their ballots in support of the Democratic Party.

World War I ended in a Slav and an American victory. Austria-Hungary collapsed beyond recognition and nothing in the world could have resurrected it.⁵ The Yugoslav lands of Austria-Hungary were united with Serbia and Montenegro to form a Yugoslav state. Bitterness was engendered over the methods by which the merger of different territories had taken place, and the political controversies over the structure of the new state were no less intense in this country than in the old country. Several different and mutually exclusive formulas were advocated. The majority of the Yugoslavs favored creation of a united Yugoslav state, but they could not agree on a form of government. Was Yugoslavia to be a federation with a republican form of government, or a centralized state with a monarchical government under the Serbian dynasty and national hegemony?

The Post-War Reaction and Social Change

Between the two wars, social and cultural activity in the Yugoslav communities of California and the United States as a whole greatly expanded. New organizations and newspapers were founded, and churches and schools were built. Some of these had an ephemeral life, others still exist. Included in the new organizations in California were not only societies based on Serbian, Croatian and Slovene ethnic exclusiveness, but also on those with a distinctly Yugoslav political flavor, such as the Jadran Club in San Pedro, the Napredak Club in Santa Clara, and others. There were also fascist and ultra nationalist organizations whose programs were based on fascist ideas (Ustashi,⁶ IMRO,⁷) and communist groups, which were inspired by post-war political refugees from Yugoslavia and by American groups of similar ideologies. These groups published their own newspapers and periodicals. The result was more political

warfare, more hate and dissension, in the Yugoslav colonies. Some of the ancient antagonisms and bigotries rubbed off even onto the youth. The author recalls that in the 'thirties American-born Serbs and Croat youths, at dances and festive occasions, would engage in fist fights over old-country distorted historical and religious issues.

Many immigrant Serbs rejoiced over the murder of the famed leader of the Peasant party, Stjepan Radic, in the Yugoslav parliament in 1928. On the other hand, the murder of King Alexander at Marseilles in 1934 by a Macedonian IMRO-ist, with the connivance of the Croat Ustashi and their fascist sponsors in Italy and Hungary, occasioned celebration in Croat nationalist and fascist circles. The nationalist Serbs and some who boasted of being good Yugoslavs considered the king's death a real tragedy.

Consequently, after World War I, the Yugoslav immigrants split not only on lines of nationalism and religion, but also over political philosophy. The creation of Yugoslavia did not eliminate divisive forces but intensified them and created new ones. As the national conflicts grew, Serbian, Croatian, and Slovene federations of societies in the United States intensified their drive to swallow independent organizations bearing their respective ethnic labels. The idea was to close ranks and take a united stand on all issues involving the interests and welfare of their particular national groups. At the same time there was an endless press war between the official organs of the Serbian (*Srbobran* [Pittsburgh, Pa.]) and Croatian (*Zajednicar* [Pittsburgh, Pa.]) federations, fed by the Serbo-Croat conflict in the old country.

The Yugoslavs in America experienced the same social and economic vicissitudes in the interwar period as other Americans. They, too, benefited from the prosperity of the early 'twenties and suffered in the depression of the early 'thirties. Because the depression came to California somewhat later than elsewhere in the country, many Yugoslavs migrated from other states to California where the depression caught up with them. Yet, it seemed that the Yugoslav immigrants suffered less from the hardships wrought by the depression than most other American groups. The centuries of poverty in the old country had taught them frugality. Since most of them some day planned to return to the old country for retirement, they had made a point of putting away some of their earnings. Unlike typical Americans, the immigrants did not believe in installment buying. As a general rule, they avoided borrowing and debts. But there was still another factor that helped many a California Yugoslav through the depression. This was the assistance given them by their fellow-immigrants who were in positions to

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help and whose latent feelings of kinship and almost patriarchal sense of social responsibility were aroused by the depression.

If, in the course of the 'thirties, one visited the French Sardine Company and the Franco-Italian Sardine Company, both owned by Yugoslav immigrants (Martin Bogdanovic and Joseph Mardesic respectively) and located on Terminal Island, he was struck by the fact that most of the employees were Yugoslavs from San Pedro. The fish were caught by Yugoslav immigrants, transported in ships owned by them and the ships bore patriotic Yugoslav names. Similarly, if one visited the construction jobs in which the United Pipe Concrete Company, (owners Bozo Ukropina, Todor Polic, and Steve Kral) the Basich Brothers Construction Company, and a number of smaller companies were engaged, he would again have found that Yugoslav immigrants constituted by far the dominant labor force.

The Yugoslav-owned companies found Yugoslav labor reliable and productive. The workers, on the other hand, found in the companies an economic security. There were instances when thankful workers actually donated some labor hours to the company. The benefit worked both ways, and the situation helped many Yugoslav immigrants to overcome what might otherwise have been a serious economic hardship. Especially grateful were those who had not yet become citizens and could only with great difficulty obtain employment.

In one sense the depression had a positive effect on the lives of the immigrants; it made them politically conscious. For the first time, many of them began taking an active part in American political life and the labor movement. The general social progress in post-war America, abetted by the depression, brought with it a greater degree of social justice. The old discriminatory appellations and name-calling in factories and mines were all but forgotten. In reference to her coming marriage to an American of Yugoslav parentage, one of my students recently remarked: "My parents accept him and his family. They say that "the Yugoslavs are all right now!"

Curiously, the discriminatory references among the immigrants themselves still remained. Many a Croat in this country still referred to a Serb as a "Vlach," and a Serb to a Croat as "Skutor," "Sokac," and "Latin." These and other types of name-calling are encountered more frequently in this country than in the old country. Many ideas and terms brought by immigrants became ossified in their minds, while their nationals in the old country, though lacking in material things, experienced more profound changes in social habits, and of the mind.

In the 'thirties, the generation of American-born Yugoslavs became increasingly more detached from the colony, many of them deliberately seeking to lose all Yugoslav identity. Changes in names became more frequent. Vuciniches turned into Allens, Paiches into Pages, Obrens into O'Briens, Obradoviches into O'Bradoviches, Glogovatses into Gordons! One detected more and more concern in Yugoslav newspapers about a lack of national consciousness among the American-born, and of the corruptive influences of American society. The leaders of various organizations urged the founding of more junior branches of societies in order, through them, to instill patriotism and pride in Slav heritage among the youth. This they did not consider antithetic to American patriotism; being a good Slav did not mean that one could not also be a good American.

The immigrants fought a losing battle in their efforts to keep their youth aware of their Slav origin. The forces of assimilation could not be resisted in an economically prosperous country and in a democratic society. Legends of Slav glory, distorted notions of history, and religious and racial prejudices which immigrants brought from the old country were no longer effective in preserving ethnic distinctiveness. The children baptized by Yugoslav clergy and given Slavic names found it necessary, later in life, to adopt American names; they did not realize that during and after World War II over-zealous intelligence agents would frequently suspect a subversive motive in the change of a name.

Apart from the inventors, Tesla and Pupin, and one or two other names, hardly any other Yugoslav immigrants have won national attention. The most noted California Yugoslav was Henry Suzzalo (Zucalo), who was born in San Jose, in 1875, of Yugoslav immigrant parents. He was graduated from Stanford University in 1899 and was a classmate of Herbert Hoover and Ray Lyman Wilbur. Suzzalo won his prominence as president of the University of Washington and of the Carnegie Foundation; in 1917 he was named by President Wilson to the National War Labor Board, and the War Labor Policy Board.

But even if they did not produce many great men, by the end of the 'thirties, the Yugoslav immigrants in California and their children had achieved considerable success in the economic, social and political activities in the state. For the first time a Yugoslav, A. L. Pierovich (1932-1940), was elected a state senator in California. Between 1941 and 1945 an American-born Yugoslav, Dr. J. F. Slavich, served as mayor of Oakland, and Dr. Peter B. Marinovich was elected mayor in Watsonville (1951-1955). Since 1956 John

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Chargin, a lawyer, has been serving as mayor of Campbell. Many professional men, lawyers, doctors, judges, and since World War II no less than a half dozen college professors in California are descendants of Yugoslav parents. By the beginning of World War II a considerable number of sons and daughters of Yugoslav parents had attained prominent positions in government, industry, and the professions. One hundred years after the first immigrants arrived, the Yugoslavs in California had climbed to influential political posts.

The Assimilation and Its Consequences

The first Yugoslav immigrants to California tended to settle in separate colonies according to their distinctive ethnic, religious and regional backgrounds. One might find in California bits of Perjesac and Konavle, Hvar and Korcula, and Hercegovina. There are the Slovenes who live on the "Kranjski Hill" ("Carniola Hill") in San Francisco, and the Serbs from Hercegovina who thirty years ago lived on what they jokingly called the "Krmak" (Hog) Street in Los Angeles, or in Boyle Heights, which they mispronounced "Bulaich." The author recalls that in the 'twenties a small colony of Serbs in Wilmington, following the ancient old country village practice, elected their own "knez" (elder) and referred to the well-to-do among them by the titles of the former Turkish feudatories (*beg, aga*). In San Francisco, the immigrants from the Dalmatian village of Kuna have organized a Kuna Club, while the proud descendants of Dubrovnik (Ragusa) annually celebrate the feast of Saint Blaz (Sveti Vlaho), the patron saint of their beloved city.

Most of the California Yugoslavs come from economically deficient regions of the Yugoslav Karst, a barren limestone range of mountains that stretches along the Adriatic Coast from Istria to a point beyond Albania. They are primarily Dalmatian Croats, Serbs from Boka, Kotorska, Montenegro, and Hercegovina, and Slovenes from the southern districts. There is no doubt that geographic access to the sea and a long tradition in seafaring were factors which induced emigration.

The common origin from the Karst, however, does not mean that all immigrants shared common historical experiences and culture in their old country. They came from diverse religious and ethnic backgrounds, lived under different foreign rules, and brought with them to California many local habits, customs, and forms of speech, and a great deal of mutual suspicion and distrust. With minor exceptions, most immigrants, regardless of the district from which they came, had very little if any formal schooling. They were almost exclusively unskilled workers.

By the outbreak of World War I, important changes had taken place in the lives of the Yugoslav immigrants in America. The contacts between the immigrants and their old country relatives had become somewhat closer and easier to maintain. There were many who returned to the old country permanently, or who went there for a bride. A few depended on relatives to send them family-approved brides. Good standing in a Slav colony required that one not marry outside religious and national bounds. A marriage between a Serb and a Croat, an Orthodox and a Catholic, though it occurred occasionally, was sanctioned neither by religion nor tradition. A marriage from outside the South Slav ethnic orbit was considered an even greater violation of the social code. A small number of immigrants violated the community restrictions to marry "outsiders," and those who did so were usually regarded as social snobs who were ashamed of their own people!

After World War I the immigrants still continued to protect their ethnic purity, although it was no longer necessary to get old country maidens for wives. It was now possible to choose a bride from among American-born girls of Yugoslav parentage who were in abundance and of age. There was, to be sure, a disparity in age between older grooms and younger brides, and marriages between forty-year-old and older immigrants and twenty-year-old native-born Yugoslav girls were frequent — a practice certainly not characteristic of American society. Because of parental insistence that they marry Yugoslavs, the female children were with little choice. The huge weddings, colorful ceremonies, and rich gifts were also potent social factors favoring marriage within the group. The male children of Yugoslav parentage could afford to wait, and when they decided to marry they were less scrupulous about the colonies' taboos: they married outsiders more frequently than did the girls.

Thriving colonies of Yugoslavs grew up outside San Francisco — in Oakland, San Jose, Sacramento, Amador County, Watsonville, the San Joaquin Valley, Los Angeles and San Pedro. Traditionally, the immigrants who settled in and around San Francisco and Oakland remained restaurateurs and hotel operators, those in San Jose and Fresno, farmers and orchardists; those in Los Angeles were construction workers and contractors, and those in San Pedro were associated with the fishing industry. For a long time the Mother Lode country had a flourishing Yugoslav mining colony, and in northern California there are still small colonies of lumber workers, such as that at Fort Bragg, founded in 1892. In the area of Fontana there is a group of Slovenes who are farmers and steel workers.

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The Yugoslav immigrants did not choose segregated life in colonies dispersed throughout the state solely for reasons of psychological security and mutual dependence in an alien surrounding. Their rural and patriarchal backgrounds account for their instinctive compulsion to resist assimilation and preserve ethnic and cultural individuality. The segregated life was not possible for long, but while it lasted to some extent it impeded the social progress of the immigrants. Many, for example, never learned English, or after many years in this country managed to manipulate only an inadequate and distorted version of it. On occasion one still encounters children born in a colony of immigrants, who speak defective English. With the disappearance of the "colony" this phenomenon has likewise tended to disappear.

The immigrants cherished their own customs and ridiculed those of their American neighbors. Until a decade or two ago, the immigrant seemed more concerned about his old country troubles than political affairs in his new homeland. But this was undoubtedly because most of the immigrants never ceased planning to return to the old country some day. Living in colonies, as the immigrants themselves called them, did not mean that the immigrant could completely resist outside pressure and influences. In fact, the colony was, more often than not, a number of families of the same ethnic background, scattered throughout a single city, and held together through common places of work, societies, and churches. Compact settlements of immigrants, such as those in Amador County, were less common. The factory and the mine in which the immigrants worked, and the restaurant and saloon in which they either worked or spent their leisure time, served as points of contact with the world outside the colony.

The Yugoslav immigrants in California were influenced not only by Americans but also by immigrants from other countries, particularly Italians, who frequently lived near them or intermingled with them. The Yugoslav immigrants also influenced one another, and this is one of the most interesting aspects in their social transformation. Until World War II, there was very little intercourse among the various segments of Yugoslavia's population. But in America the immigrants who came from different Yugoslav provinces, from under different foreign rules, and of different religious backgrounds, found themselves in daily contact with each other. As a result, they adopted many of each other's ways and habits. In no phase of the immigrant's life is this more clearly manifested than in his language, which became transformed, or corrupted, in the course of time.

Linguistic Transformations

Linguists and grammarians will find Yugoslav languages spoken in the United States a fascinating subject for investigation. Because of their separation from the main linguistic bases in the old country, the Yugoslav languages in this country have developed certain changes in syntax, morphology, and vocabulary. From the very beginning languages spoken by the immigrants were not grammar-pure and they contained many colloquialisms. The immigrants spoke not only in Serbo-Croatian or Slovene vernacular, but in several vernacular dialects and forms of speech. There were those who spoke in a Montenegrin drawl and in a Pastrojevici variant of the same, the speech of Dubrovnik and its environs, the language of Eastern Hercegovina, the Croat spoken along the coast from Peljesac to Istria, and the Serbo-Croat spoken in Lika. The strange jargon spoken by many (in San Pedro, Delano, etc.) who descend from the islands of Brac and Hvar could almost be considered as distinct languages. The Slovene spoken by the immigrants was, however, somewhat more homogeneous than the Serbo-Croat.

As a result of their close association in California, different groups of immigrants influenced one another's language. Serbs from Eastern Hercegovina, for example, took into their vocabulary words of Italian origin which are part of the everyday speech of the Serbs of Boka or Croats of Peljesac. A linguist-purist will be startled to hear an immigrant from Bileca using words like "karijega," "fungestra," "butiga," "bestija," "vapor," "kastradina," and many others. Many Slavic words are also used, such as "klobuk," "cipele," "cokule," and others, which were not part of his original vocabulary but which he picked up from Croats, Serbs of Serbia, or some other Slav group. Because Dalmatians by far outnumber other immigrants in California, it was natural that they should influence others more, and be less influenced by smaller Yugoslav groups.

The immigrant found it necessary to add words for things he had seen or experienced for the first time. Few Yugoslav immigrants had heard of Mexico and Mexicans, and not many had heard of China and the Chinese. Yet, while in California, they came in direct contact with both these peoples and they had to give them names. Hence one may occasionally hear the words *Mesiko*, *mesika*, *mesikani* in reference to Mexico and Mexicans, and *Cina* and *Cinez* in reference to China and Chinese. The same is true of American Indians whom the immigrant for the first time encountered in California, and to whom he gave the appellation *Indija*. The names

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for all three of these people exist in literary Serbo-Croatian and Slovene languages, but the immigrants neither knew of nor consulted dictionaries. However, we must not leave the impression that all immigrants were victims of corruptive influence in language; those who were somewhat more literate and selective strove for linguistic purity.

The resistance to assimilation and outside influence is reflected in the terminology used by the immigrants to distinguish themselves from outsiders. They speak of "ours" (*nasi*), and "our language" (*naski*), in reference to themselves and the language they speak. Those who do not speak Serbian, Croatian, Slavonian, or whatever the immigrant happens to call his language, are dubbed the "*furesti*" (foreigners), a word taken from the Dalmatian Croat vocabulary and obviously of Italian origin. The Americans (presumably those fully assimilated) were given the name "*cucar*" (pl. *cuvari*), a word concocted from the English verb "to chew." The early immigrants were astounded to find in the new country so many people who were endlessly chewing tobacco or gum. Hence, these people became to them "the chewing ones" or the "*cuvari*." Sometimes, also, an American is referred to as the "*pajas*" — the one identified with that American delicacy, the apple pie.

Many immigrants did not have words for gadgets and tools that came to their attention as time passed. The words for utensils, furnishings, clothings, and menu represented as indispensable everyday terminology which the immigrants added to their vocabulary. Some of them did not begin to wear urban clothing or to eat urban foods until they came to California. It is remarkable how quickly peasants from villages of Bileca, who literally abhorred city food, not only learned to eat it but to prepare it as first-rate chefs in many California restaurants. But before they could master their jobs they had to learn many new words, and the words that they added to their vocabulary were English rather than Slavic. The immigrant could not be influenced by the expanding vocabulary of his old country brothers, who particularly in recent years have taken into their speech many political and technological terms. One can be sure that there are very few immigrants who know the Yugoslav words for jet plane, threshing machine, and the like. Severed from the base language, the language of the immigrants had to follow a different path in its evolution.

The words that seem first to drop from immigrants' speech are those of foreign origin, particularly those from German and Turkish sources. For example one will hardly ever hear the words "*spek*," "*frager*," "*Zug*," etc., and one practically never hears the Turkish

"jok," "secerlema," "cenifa," etc. Even so fundamental a word as "talijer" from the German *Thaller* has lost ground to the English "dolar" (dollar). However, a great number of foreign words, including German and Turkish, still survive. In place of those foreign words which have been dropped, the immigrants use either the appropriate words from South Slav languages, or English; or less commonly, they actually create Slavic compound words or they resuscitate archaic terms. Strangely enough, the Italian words in the Croatian spoken by Dalmatians have met all the challenges and survive in everyday use.

The language spoken by immigrants is characterized by an extensive use of English words even when there is no need for them — a corruption at its worst. An immigrant feels that he is more easily understood and that his thoughts can be more precisely conveyed when he uses English terms in Slavic form. Thus, we may hear something of the following mixture: "*Ovo je bridg sto su go bildili nasi kontrateri,*" (This is the bridge that was built by our contractors), "*Pero je poso u faktoriju i returnice se na vece*" (Peter has gone to the factory and will return tonight), "*Nemojici po stritu da te ne udari strinckera,*" (Do not walk on the street, lest the streetcar hit you), "*Luka je fiksio karu*" (Luke has fixed the car). To understand this strange jargon — reminiscent of Pennsylvania Dutch — one must be either a member of an emigré community or well versed in both English and Serbo-Croat, and possess a lot of patience.

Another factor which accounts for the deterioration of the immigrant's language is his deliberate resistance to the better language of the more educated immigrant. Because earlier immigrants came from rural areas with little if any formal education, they retained many of their prejudices in regard to their compatriot urban cousins. In the old country, the village and town constituted separate social components, traditionally in conflict with one another. This has been one of the lasting effects of the retrogressive Ottoman Turkish rule, which intentionally fostered that type of social compartmentalization. Besides common love for their people and their historical heritage, the village and the town had little else in common. Their respective inhabitants spoke differently, ate different foods, sang different songs, wore different clothes, and celebrated traditional and religious holidays in a different way. They distrusted each other. The peasant considered himself the producer, soldier and tax payer, and he saw in the townsman his oppressor, a merchant, money lender, government official, army officer. Though this equation may seem exaggerated, in actually it was not.

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The peasant has little use for city speech, which he considers "high brow," because it is replete with foreign words at times deliberately used by the city dweller to leave an impression of cultural superiority. The peasant is annoyed by literary and grammatical speech. Somehow it seems to him too soft, effeminate, and affected. Moreover, he often finds city speech incomprehensible. Because the peasant immigrants are numerically preponderant, a few educated immigrants among them — isolated from the old country urban and intellectual milieu — succumbed to the social pressure of the immigrant colony and adopted corrupted Yugoslav as the mode of communication. Strangely, even when he knows good Serbo-Croatian, an educated immigrant will follow the line of least resistance and use the language of his less educated compatriot.

The Impact of World War II and Post-War Developments

By 1941, two years after Hitler unleashed his military machine, most of Europe had fallen to the Germans. The Yugoslav government, to avoid certain destruction, signed a peace pact with the Nazis, and in doing so surrendered its country's independence. Rather than accept surrender, however, the Yugoslav people rebelled on March 27, 1941, and installed an anti-Axis government. This act of courage electrified the democratic world and instilled special pride in American Yugoslavs. When, on April 5, the Axis powers converged on Yugoslavia and crushed its armed forces, there appeared a short-lived unity among the Yugoslavs in this country. All except those who were oriented toward fascism felt deeply the plight of their old country relatives. The racial and political squabbles momentarily subsided for the sake of national solidarity. Special committees and organizations were founded in disregard of ethnic and religious lines.⁸ Money and aid of various kinds were gathered for the benefit of the Yugoslav cause. After Germany invaded the Soviet Union, the Yugoslavs of communist conviction joined those who stood in defence of Yugoslavia. However, the communist tactics designed to give them leadership over the immigrant groups led to political feuds and factionalism.

The cooperation between different Yugoslav ethnic groups in America was strengthened after the United States entered the war against the Axis in December, 1941. There was no danger of split allegiance; the Slavs and Americans were once again together fighting the same enemy they fought in the first World War. The

reports about Colonel Draza Mihailovic, who organized a resistance movement against the Axis occupation forces in Yugoslavia, won the admiration of the whole Allied world. American Yugoslavs rejoiced in glory, and Hollywood produced a film depicting the struggle between the Yugoslav irregulars and overwhelmingly superior Axis forces.

Then, suddenly, there was a turn on the political front. The discovery of Tito and his Partisans in late 1942 broke down the unity among immigrant Yugoslavs. There was a split in the ranks of the staff of the Yugoslav Embassy in Washington and the Yugoslav Information Center (New York), and each inspired its ideological counterparts among the American Yugoslavs. Tito and Mihailovic, who cooperated for a few months in 1941 and then fell at odds, were represented by their supporters and admirers as ideological antipodes: one a Croat and the other a Serb, one an exponent of "Yugoslavia," and the other of "Greater Serbia," one favoring a republic and the other a monarchy. The political developments in the old country once more aroused inflamed nationalistic passions among the Yugoslavs in California and the United States.

The policy of genocide which the Ustashi pursued in their determination to uproot the Serbs from Bosnia-Herzegovina, killing hundreds of thousands of Serbs and forcing many to adopt Catholicism, had a devastating psychological effect on the Serb and Croat communities in this country. The racial and religious hates were regenerated. The establishment of the communist regime in Yugoslavia in 1945 and the execution of Mihailovic on July 17, 1946, served to intensify these hates and the political conflict between the different immigré factions.

What is important for our purposes is that since 1943, and especially since the end of the war, the Yugoslav communities in the United States have become arenas of ideological war. It is not a war against communists, who were never numerically strong and who were silenced by various government measures. The ideological conflict is fought among those who favor Yugoslavia and those who would instead like to see established separate "Greater Serbia" and "Greater Croatia" states and those who represent variations of these basic formulas. Neither "Greater" Serbia nor "Greater" Croatia seems possible of realization because, *inter alia*, the protagonists of each claim extensive territories and populations demanded by the other.

What is the attitude of the immigrants to Tito and his Yugoslavia? Most of them are opposed to Tito, but for differing reasons. There are, to be sure, those who oppose him because of their demo-

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cratic convictions, and there are still others who oppose him because of his church policy. But too many immigrants hate him just because he is a Croat. An elderly and semi-literate Serb immigrant recently remarked to me that "If Tito were only a Serb, I would support him." What is important to this immigrant and many like him is the ethnic background of a leader and not his political and social philosophy. Most of the bickering among different ethnic and religious groups stems not from any ideological persuasion but from nationalistic emotionalism and deeply rooted religious bigotry.

World War II refugees of different ethnic, religious and political backgrounds have aggravated the conflict already extant among different Yugoslav factions in the United States. The Croat fascist Ustashi refugees, such as wartime Minister of the Interior Andrija Artukovic — now residing in Los Angeles — have buttressed the cause of Croat nationalism; the Serbian nationalists and the Chetnik refugees have also taken positions along national and religious lines, and unity among them, even in the face of their common hate for Communism, seems impossible.

Both old and new immigrants find satisfaction in arguing about which of the ethnic groups is racially and culturally superior and who — the Serbs or the Croats — has the just claim to Bosnia and Hercegovina. The Croat nationalists hate Tito because he has resurrected Yugoslavia which, in their opinion, differs from monarchist Yugoslavia "only in nomenclature." The Serb nationalists hate Tito because he is a Croat, because he has abolished monarchy, and because he has destroyed Serbian national hegemony in Yugoslavia. Each has separate anti-Tito organizations which are collecting funds to be used in undermining the present Yugoslav regime. The Serbs have organized a "National Defense" society, with branches in California; the society has its roots in the pre-World War I anti-Austro-Hungarian organization of the same name.

The repercussions of the Tito-Stalin break in 1948, like other major developments in the old country, were felt by Yugoslavs in the United States. They welcomed the break because they saw in it either a step toward democratization of Yugoslavia, or Tito's certain doom. Many of them welcomed the leniency of Tito's "new system" and his political and economic departure from rigid Soviet models for socialism. The immigrants were pleased most of all by the restoration of cordial diplomatic intercourse between Yugoslavia and the United States because they could henceforth visit relatives in Yugoslavia, travel in that country, and send packages to their families. The new situation enabled many split families to reunite. As for those few immigrants who were members of the American

Communist party, they found themselves split into Tito and Stalin followers, the latter probably outnumbering the former.

The War Refugee Influence

The impact of Yugoslav refugees on the language and life of Yugoslav communities in California has been clearly noticeable. The new immigrants differ in many ways from their predecessors. They come, to a large extent, from urban backgrounds and practically all possess some formal education. They came to this country as political refugees rather than as laborers. But even the new immigrants can be classified into groups. There are those who were war prisoners and refused to return home after the war, those who collaborated with the enemy or fought Tito's forces and had to leave the country, and those who have been running away from Yugoslavia since the end of the war. Some held important positions in various Yugoslav governments and armed forces. The new immigrants are from fertile regions of Yugoslavia, from which areas very few earlier immigrants came. Their presence in California and elsewhere in the United States has brought a kind of cultural and social regeneration to Yugoslav colonies. The linguistic changes are reflected in the improved quality of Yugoslav journals published in the United States since the end of the war.

The presence of new refugees has helped to bring back some of the old customs which had nearly disappeared in the colony, and to introduce others. They have added new songs to the worn out repertoire of the old immigrants, and there are today more people in the colony who can dance the native "kolo" than at any time before. But at the same time the pressure of new immigrants has led to social war between the old immigrant-pioneers and the new immigrant-refugees, and between secular and religious leaders.

The new immigrants are displacing the old ones as leaders of societies and organizations, which position the older generation is relinquishing grudgingly. Several hundred Ustashe have come to California and their presence is resented by other Croat immigrants. This is not only because the Ustashe adopted a fascistic political program and during the War condoned or participated in the murdering of many thousands of Serbs and Jews, but also because they committed the unforgivable sin of turning Dalmatia over to the Italians!

The presence of refugees has had influence on the religious life of the older immigrants. With refugees came Orthodox and Roman Catholic clergymen. Before World War II, there was a scarcity of

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Roman Catholic clergy who spoke Croat or Slovene, and the faithful of these national groups frequently protested against the practice of appointing Irish clergymen in Croat and Slovene parishes. Today there is an abundance of clergy who speak the Slavic tongues, although some irritation still persists over the appropriate appointments.

While the Croat and Slovene refugees found easy access to numerous Roman Catholic churches that already existed, the Serbs had to build new churches. The refugees of both denominations, however, faced religious problems to which they were not accustomed. They came from a country in which their churches were traditionally state supported and national in character and possessed much wealth, to a country in which their religions are minoritarian and financially dependent on the support of the parishoners. They came from a state in which the church, by virtue of its privileged position, was taken for granted. Until 1945, when the communists took power in Yugoslavia, both the Orthodox and the Roman churches enjoyed the protection of the state, and as a result they could better defend themselves from the corruptive influences of society. Moreover, there was neither a need nor a possibility for evangelism and proselyting.

Since the arrival of the new refugees, the Serbian Orthodox Church in many respects has become evangelical. To keep its flocks and meet the challenge of American materialistic society and competition from other churches, it has begun to imitate established churches in this country. It has been opening Sunday schools, establishing organizations for male, female, and youth parishoners, and it has succumbed to "secularism" by installing pews for the physical comfort of the faithful — a repudiation of long-standing tradition! To entice the faithful to come to church, it has become necessary to provide for their physical comfort, while by becoming as much as possible like other American churches, it is believed the Church would have a wider acceptance.

It is tragic that most immigrants — of Roman Catholic as well as the Orthodox background — know very little about their faiths, the history of their churches, the meanings of their doctrines and dogmas. Nor have the services in Latin and the somewhat more comprehensible Church Slavonic enabled them to follow the liturgy intelligently and to understand and interpret its symbolism. And because they do not have religious education they get very little if anything from sermons given in English or literary Slavic.

The new refugees and some old immigrants since World War II have been asking for greater national and religious purity and

resoluteness. Some clergymen of liberal vintage have been ostracized and replaced by new refugee-clergy. In Los Angeles the Orthodox Church is split between the "poor" people's church in Boyle Heights, and the newly built and lavishly designed church of the "well-to-do" in Azusa. In San Francisco, an American-born and Harvard-trained clergyman freer of old country squabbles and more liberal in his liturgical services, has been replaced by a refugee clergyman of the conservative nationalist type.

Because of their different social and cultural backgrounds, there is little likelihood that the influence of the newcomers on the old immigrants will be permanent. Having long ago severed ties with the old country and having raised their families and acquired economic security in this country, the old immigrants are no longer interested in resisting the overpowering influence of American culture. They view the future realistically and they have become at last reconciled to the fact that they are not returning "home."

The immigrants who lived in larger urban centers are being assimilated more rapidly than those in small farming and mining communities (i.e., Amador County). Immigrants who came from a peasant background are the most resistant to assimilation. The recent political-immigrants will probably assimilate more rapidly than earlier immigrants, if they can survive the initial crisis of readjustment. This is because of their higher education, cosmopolitan outlook, and urban background. They are skilled or semi-skilled workers. They can learn English more quickly and they already have much in common with American urban and industrial society.

A scrutiny of the lives of the old immigrants discloses that although they had undergone a considerable social transformation, they had nonetheless retained many of their earlier traits. To a large extent, they have adopted the American ways at work and at home. Because of the money incentive, they have become far more productive and far more appreciative of the axiom that time is money than are their old country relatives. Much of the old country hospitality and generosity had to be sacrificed because they stand in the way of work and financial enrichment. The old immigrants never became movie-goers or traveled in fast-stepping crowds, and their many habits, psychic behavior, deep devotion to family, relatives, and their own ethnic group, and their innate conservatism are still a part of the old immigrants' way of life.

Both the old and the new immigrants have tended to adopt the colors of the "nouveau riche" — the exhibiting of earthly wealth and possessions. Under the impact of American materialism they

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have become less religious and more dedicated to the dollar. They have shed many of their old country attitudes toward education and culture and instead have adopted the American business mentality. Where in the old country they respected the clergyman, teacher, student and intellectual, in this country they have come to respect the man of wealth. To drive a Cadillac has become to many immigrants a sign of success and respectability.

Today we are on the threshold of a new epoch in the history of American Yugoslavs. The old immigrant-pioneer — now on the average sixty years old — is rapidly disappearing from the scene. So many are dying that the probating of wills, which involves relatives in Yugoslavia, has developed into a new and lucrative field for competent advocates at law. For students of history, the disappearance of the old immigrants carries with it the loss of an important source of historical information. No one had ever bothered to interview the immigrants and to put down their reminiscences of life in this country, their early struggles and ordeals. The opportunity should surely be seized before it passes forever.

NOTES

1. Ivan Mladineo. *Jugosloveni u Sjedinjenim Drzavama Americickim*. (New York, 1925), 21 pp. Typewritten manuscript. One of the best articles on Yugoslavia in the United States, though somewhat antiquated, is by Ivan Mladineo, "Nasi u Americi," *Jubilarni zbornik zivota i rada SHS, 1918-1928*. Beograd, 1929, 776-802.
2. United States Department of Commerce. *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1957*. (Washington, 1957), pp. 89, 90, 91, 93, 97.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 97.
4. The Slavonic Pioneers of California. (San Francisco, 1932.) p. 41.
5. Victor S. Mamatej. *The United States and East Central Europe, 1914-1918*. (Princeton, 1957, 431 pp. 383-384).
6. The followers of Ante Pavelic, head of Independent State of Croatia, created during World War II under the auspices of the Axis powers in 1941.
7. International Macedonian Revolutionary Organization, founded in the 1890's which has experienced many crises and political zig-zags.
8. The files of the Foreign Nationalities Branch of the O.S.S., the Justice Department, the F.B.I., and the O.W.I., when available, should provide valuable data on American Yugoslavs during and after World War II.

A Pueblo de Los Angeles Memoir . . .

ABEL STEARNS, SMUGGLER

*An Unpublished Document from the Archives of the
Prefecture of Los Angeles, 1840*

Edited by GRANVILLE A. WALDRON

Before becoming a prominent civic leader, Abel Stearns had built a successful business in Los Angeles and in San Pedro where he eventually controlled most of the south coast trade. It was while establishing his business in San Pedro that he ran afoul of the Mexican authorities. His enemies had accused him of erecting *Casa de San Pedro* warehouse, located where Fort MacArthur now stands, without official sanction; of purchasing stolen hides from cattle thieves; and of receiving smuggled goods brought over from Santa Catalina Island under cover of night.

These charges reached a climax in 1840, when Santiago Argüello,¹ Prefect of the Second, or Los Angeles District, learned surreptitiously of a large amount of contraband goods and a number of unbranded hides stored in the *Casa de San Pedro*. Argüello issued the order below² to Juan Ramírez, Judge of the Plains, instructing him to take three other citizens and go to the Port of San Pedro for the purpose of searching the vicinity of Stearn's warehouse.

As soon as you receive the present order you will proceed in company with the Citizens Guirado, Pablo Emigdio (*sic*) and Ricardo Vejar, all with respective weapons to the Port of San Pedro, where you will act with the care and vigilance which characterizes you, to seek the remainder of the smuggled goods seized in this city in the house of Don Abel Stearns, as it has come to my knowledge that they are at that point, and without entering into the house or warehouse that are there belonging to Mr. Stearns, you will make the search in the vicinity, gulches and other places which appear suspicious, until you cross over to the headland or little Island there is at that place, for which operations you will make . . . use of the boat there is at the landing, or out of it first asking it in my name from the man in charge who is at the house and in case of refusal you will proceed to take it in the name of the nation, as well as its oars and other necessities, and having found it you will count the packages you may find, and will solicit from the nearest Ranch the carts necessary to transport (assuring the payment of freight) under your care and escort, to the house of the Prefecture. I trust, therefore, that you and your companions will carry out these instructions contained in this order.

S. Argüello
(Rubric)

To the Citizen Judge of the Plains
Juan Ramirez

Abel Stearns, Smuggler

The clandestine search uncovered some purportedly contraband goods which the searchers seized and returned to the Pueblo of Los Angeles according to their instructions. In his *Cattle on a Thousand Hills*, Robert Glass Cleland says that "In the face of such evidence, Stearns's conviction seemed a mere formality."³ However, at this time, owing to exorbitant Mexican tariffs, highly respected business men and public officials alike were engaged in smuggling activities. Influential friends, therefore, interceded successfully on Stearn's behalf, and there is no evidence a trial was held. Ironically, Stearns was later appointed an administrator of customs, a responsibility which he pursued with vigor and determination.

NOTES

1. Don Santiago Argüello had served as the Mexican Military Commandant at San Diego prior to 1840 and as Prefect of Los Angeles from 1840 to 1842. His granddaughter, Doña Dolores Zamorano, was married to General José María Flores who commanded the Californians during the Mexican War.
2. This previously unpublished document is an English translation of the original Spanish document and was found in a book of translations of the Archives of the Prefecture of Los Angeles, 1834-1849, pages 28-29, translated in 1891. The original document is contained in the Los Angeles County Mexican Archives. Although the document is undated, accompanying papers place its date *circa* October, 1840.
3. Robert Glass Cleland, *The Cattle on a Thousand Hills* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1951), p. 248.

Las Familias de California

(*The Families of California*)

Conducted by MRS. JOSEPH M. NORTHROP

Genealogical Queries and Answers

10. The *Dictionary of California Places and Names* spoiled the theory that my forebears had founded Borrego and Borrego Springs in Southern California. On May, 1840, my father's great-grandparents sailed from Le Havre, France, with eight of their thirteen children and settled in New Orleans, La.

Father: Yohann Borré, born July 14, 1792; Mother: Katherine P. Borré.

The children were: Peter (or Petrie), born May 11, 1819; Nicolás, born September 22, 1821; Yohann, born February 5, 1824; Catherina, born January 31, 1827; Elizabeth, born August 6, 1829; Susanna, born November 18, 1832; Mattie, born September 26, 1835; Anna María, born April 9, 1839.

Shortly before the American Civil War, the more adventure-some of the children moved to the West Coast. I would appreciate any help offered in the search of my father's family. — John F. Borré, 3340 Decatur Avenue, Bronx 67, New York.

11. I am trying to locate the personal papers (notebook, diary, etc.) of Col. Nathaniel S. Goss (1826-1891) that were taken to Los Angeles, California, in 1893 by Goss' nephew, Charles W. Waterman. An old address of Charles W. Waterman is 122 South Spring Street, Los Angeles. The sons of Charles Waterman are William S. Waterman, last known address 644 West Fifth Street, San Pedro, and Harvey O. Waterman, Ventura. The material, when found, is to be used in writing a biography of Colonel Goss. — Donald W. Janes, Instructor in Biology, Washburn University of Topeka, Topeka, Kansas.

Genealogical Notes

**Padron (census) of Pueblo San José de Guadalupe, 1790
Under the Jurisdiction of the Royal Presidio of San Francisco**

*Copied from the Eldridge Translation in the Bancroft Library and Edited by
MRS. JOSEPH M. NORTHROP*

1. Antonio Romero, laborer, native of Guadalajara, age 40; wife Petra Aceves, 28; one son 14 years. (Marginal note: The father of this son was José Gonzales).

2. Ignacio Archuleta, laborer, native of San Miguel de Horcasitas, Sonora, age 36; wife Gertrudis Pacheco, 30; one boy 11, another 7, another 5 and one girl 10 years.

3. Claudio Alvarez, laborer, native of Fetuach, 48 years; wife Ana María Gonzales, 30; with one son of 9, one 5, one daughter 4 and one of 1 year of age.

4. Manuel Gonzales, laborer, native of the Valley of San Bartolomé, Durango, age 70; wife Gertrudis Acévez, 20 (note: daughter of Antonio Acévez); with one son 18 years and one of 13. (EDITORS NOTE: Manuel Gonzales was first married to María Micaela Bojorquez. The two sons were probably Josef Francisco and Josef Romualdo by this marriage.)

5. Bernardo Rosales, laborer, native of Villa de Parras, Durango, age 46 years; wife Mónica, age 28; one son 4, one daughter 16, one of 8 and one of 3 years.

6. Manuel Amesquita, laborer, native of the Presidio de Terrenate, Sonora, age 38; wife Graciana, age 28; one son 14, one 7, one 3 and one daughter 6.

7. Tiburcio Vázquez, laborer, native of Agualulco, correspondent to Guadalajara,

35 years; wife María Bojorquez, age 30; one son 9, one 8, one 4, one 3, one 1 and one daughter 10 and one 2 years.

8. Francisco Avila, laborer, native of Villa del Fuerte, Sonora, 46, viudo; one son 16.

9. Valerio Mesa, laborer, of San Juan de Sonora, age 60; wife Leonora Borboa, 50; one son 18, one 9 and a daughter 11.

10. Seferino Lugo, laborer, native of Villa de Sinaloa, Sonora, 50; wife Gertrudis Pacheco, 48 years.

11. Joaquin Castro, laborer, native of Villa de Sinaloa, age 60; wife Martina Botiller, 50 years. Two orphans: one boy of 20 and girl of 18.

12. Antonio Alegre, laborer, native of Genova, 50 years; wife Catalina, 28; one daughter 6 years.

13. Pedro Bojorquez, "campista" (note says "Tanner"), native of San Bartolomé, age 48; wife Micaela Sotelo, 40; one son 11, one daughter 16, one 9 and one 7.

16. Pedro Caguelas, "campista", native of Misión de San Luis of this province, 22; wife Secundina, 18.

17. Miguel Osuna, taylor, of Real de San Francisco, 52 years of age, single.

18. Pedro Ruiz Nervo, native of San Blas, correspondent to Guadalajara, 21 years of age, single.

San José de Guadalupe, 5 October 1790

(signed) JOSE ARGUELLO

(signed) FR. TOMAS DE LA PENA

Book Reviews

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL LANDMARKS. State of California, Department of Natural Resources, Division of Beaches and Parks, Sacramento, California. \$.75.

This ninety-four-page paper-bound booklet is a most useful reference work. It is well organized for quick use, and is also delightful for browsing. Seven hundred twenty-two landmarks are listed in numerical order. Under each is told what the marker commemorates, its location, its significance, and the name of the organization that erected the marker.

Following the general numerical listing,

is an alphabetical list of the counties of California. Under each county is given the name and number of the markers within that county. Thus the reader may readily locate any desired marker in the general numerical list, and read the complete description.

The booklet is not illustrated except for the picture of old Fort Ross on the cover. — *Margaret Romer.*

MALASPINA IN CALIFORNIA, by Donald C. Cutter. (John Howell-Books, San Francisco, 1960.) Pp. viii; 96; 8 3/4" x 11"; color plates; photos; illustrations; maps; diagrams; Bibliography; Index; cloth. Price, \$17.50.

Donald Cutter, Society member and professor of Western American history at the University of Southern California, has made an important contribution to California's Hispanic history with this new volume. Until the appearance of Dr. Cutter's book only fragmentary material was available on Spain's greatest scientific expedition during the age of enlightenment and on the early Spanish artistic endeavors in California. Fortunately, *Malaspina in California* fills this historical lacuna more than adequately.

Alejandro Malaspina, who commanded the expedition, has remained virtually unrecognized by historians. It is not, however, the historians, but the Spanish navigator himself who is responsible for his lack of recognition. Malaspina, an Italian by birth and a Spaniard by choice, was, above all, a lover by avocation. And it was precisely this facet of his personality that doomed him to semi-oblivion despite the fact that his scientific expedition could compare with Cook's and surpass La Perouse's. Malaspina, true to the trite generalization that "Latins are great lovers"; engaged in romantic intrigues with both Queen Maria Luisa of Spain and with the ladies of her court. Unfortunately, Malaspina's attentions to the Queen brought him into rivalry with the Queen's young paramour, the Prince of the Peace, Spain's prime minister. The Prince of the Peace not only banished Malaspina from the kingdom, but also prevented the publication of the expedition's scientific findings and artistic pro-

ductions. Consequently, it was not until 1885, after the original materials had become dispersed, and the actual artists and scientists of the expedition had died, that the main portion of the scientific results were published under the editorship of Don Pedro Novo y Colson. Unfortunately for both scholars and students of California, Novo y Colson's edition contained only a minor part of the California phase of the expedition and apparently also failed to stimulate the interests of historians and geographers who remained — and too many still remain — captivated by the voyages of Cook, La Perouse, and Vancouver.

Professor Cutter in rediscovering the accomplishments of the Spanish navigator can truly be called Malaspina's Herodotus. His presentation of the Spaniard's scientific investigations and findings on the geography, economy, zoology, botany, and anthropology of Hispanic California at the end of the eighteenth century is clear, accurate, and balanced. The author's most important contribution, however, lies in the field of art history where he presents the earliest and most extensive record of Hispanic paintings, drawings, and illustrations in California. What makes this contribution be of even greater value is the heretofore unknown biographical material of the expedition's artists and scientists which was incorporated into the text. Through this interest in both the artist and his work, Dr. Cutter not only gave coherence and clarity to his book, but rescued José Cardero, the first artist to dedicate

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himself to the Pacific Coast of Northern North America, from oblivion.

Lest the enthusiasts of California history anticipate another wearisome monograph, it should be said that the author writes in an interesting and easy to read style, which was not obtained at the sacrifice of scholarship and sound research. On the contrary, the volume is an open testimony of the many months that Professor Cutter spent

in the Spanish and the Mexican archives searching for his material.

Finally, *Malaspina in California*, published by John Howell and printed by Lawton Kennedy, is without doubt an outstanding example of typographic art. Its illustrations, drawings, and maps are strikingly reproduced. Unfortunately, its price is nearly prohibitive. — *Manuel P. Servin.*

THE PERALTA GRANT — James Addison Reavis and the Barony of Arizona, by Donald M. Powell. (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1960). *Photos, maps, sketches; Bibliography, Index;* Pp. xiv; 186; 5 1/2" x 8"; Cloth, \$3.75.

It takes imagination to be a promoter, and it takes a peculiar type of genius to plan a lineage and to secure two series of documents to buttress one's claims to land.

In his book **THE PERALTA GRANT**, which is the story of James Addison Reavis and the barony of Arizona, Donald M. Powell has examined many documents and records, digested them, and given us a historical report, concerning claims to lands greater in area than that of two of our smallest states. Reavis had the imagination necessary to make such claims, plus the confidence in himself and the ability to promote funds to support himself and his so-called investigation, during the period of research. His funds, incidentally, came chiefly from Californians, such as Charles Crocker.

Twice he sought to establish his so-called rights. He failed by a wide margin at his first effort and came back to near success on his second. His lack of education in connection with the Spanish language and Spanish and Mexican history were his undoing.

It takes two lies to cover one, and four to cover two, etc.

Dr. Powell of the Reference Department of the University of Arizona Library, in this book has written a fascinating story. It is of particular interest to those whose hobby is Spanish and Mexican and Western State land titles. It should also be interesting to those who have as a hobby the study of motives of that class of men who have great self-confidence and who possess what we term a "promoter's conscience" (meaning none).

The story deals with the claims by Reavis to twelve million acres of Arizona territory stretching from west of Phoenix to the San Francisco Mountains on the east, and from the Fort McDowell-Roosevelt Lake and Salt and Black River areas on the north, to the Picacho, Galiuro-Pinaleno Mountains on the south; including the cities of Phoenix, Tempe, Mesa, Globe, Morenci, Casa Grande, and Safford.

Reavis, after a not too admirable service in the Confederate Army, became a real estate man in St. Louis, Missouri. There, he met and learned something about Spanish land titles from George M. Willing, Jr. This was about 1871. Willing was a miner and land title promoter. He had a sack of authentic looking Spanish documents. How these came into Reavis's possession, how he amplified them, and how they were parlayed into Reavis's claims (chiefly his first one), are of amusing and historical interest.

These papers and documents, after an initial failure, he tied into a grandiose second claim which was primarily based upon the contention that his wife, whom he married during the spawning of the first claim (though he did not mention her therein), was the heiress and direct descendant of Miguel Mencio Silva (first Baron of Arizona), Jesus Miguel Silva Peralta (second Baron), etc. This claim was supposedly buttressed by numerous documents, including those of another petty land shark, who probably provided some of the documents originally obtained from Willing. This other land shark was W. W. Gitt.

Reavis's well-laid plans went wrong, or were foiled, by the painstaking examination of documents and the "breaking of witnesses" by government representatives. The story of the trial is an interesting one.

As I have indicated, Reavis lost his case, was indicated, and convicted. He "did time" in the penitentiary. Thereafter, he confessed. Also his wife divorced him and he died in bad financial condition. So justice triumphed. The settlers' homes and ranches were saved. The villain (but not those who financed him) was punished and Arizona land titles are secure.

Read it. Some parts are hard to follow. Also you know how it is going to end; but it is worthwhile, not too long, and holds your interest. — *McIntyre Faries.*

FORTY YEARS AMONG THE INDIANS, by Daniel W. Jones. (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1960). Pp. xvi, 378. \$8.50.

This reprint of Dan Jones' fascinating story is number XIX in the Great West and Indian Series by Westernlore Press. Like many others in the series, it was written during the latter part of the last century — in 1887 to be specific. Few books written so long ago are as readable today. Perhaps one secret of its vitality lies in the fact that although the author was reminiscing back over a period of forty years, he was only fifty-five at the time of writing, and he was to live another thirty years.

Daniel W. Jones, a seventeen-year-old orphan, enlisted in the Missouri Volunteers for service in the Mexican War. After the war, he chose to remain for a while in northern Mexico, and did not return to Santa Fe until 1850. Having developed some curiosity concerning the Mormons, he accepted an offer to assist in a sheep drive overland to California by way of Salt Lake Valley. This decision eventually led him into the Mormon Church, and into his life-time struggle on behalf of the Indians. Through he repeatedly traveled about the West from Wyoming to Chihuahua, he was never to reach California.

Dan Jones' first contact with Indians was the sight of eight of his fellow soldiers ambushed and scalped within full view of their army camp on the Arkansas River. With such an introduction, it is altogether remarkable that he should earn recognition, and disfavor, as a champion of the Indians.

Having joined the Mormons, Dan Jones' native vigor and intelligence, plus his skills as frontiersman, interpreter and artisan marked him out as a man to watch. Unfortunately, the combination of a tactless, if not overbearing, personality

coupled with his strange affinity for Indians, led him often to be suspected, accused, charged, and even tried. Apparently the leaders of the church knew his utter honesty and devotion to the cause, and never completely let him down.

Jones' particular interest in the Indians represents no strange quirk, but simply reflects the particular portion of the teachings in the Book of Mormon that especially captivated his interest, and won his ever growing support. Convinced that they were literally the "remnants" referred to in the Book of Mormon, and encouraged by initial successes, the author continued to devote himself first to establishing peaceful relations between whites and Indians, and finally in assisting the Indians to live a better life both in the ethical-moral-religious sense, and in the socio-economic sense.

During forty years of such activities as these endeavors led him into, Dan Jones acquired a catalogue of adventurous experiences that make an absorbing series of stories of the sort that are so much appreciated today. Though he "testifies" frequently concerning his faith, and seeks to justify his conduct, this does not detract unduly from the charm of his tales. Indeed, much that he did would have no sense or meaning without it.

The book is very attractively done with but a single error to be noted in a normal reading. The lack of an index probably justifies no criticism with a book of this nature, and especially in view of the author's brief narrative headings before each chapter. At least one good map might have been profitably included, even if old Dan Jones didn't think it necessary seventy-five years ago. — *D. E. Livingston-Little.*

SILHOUETTES OF CHARLES S. THOMAS, *Colorado Governor and United States Senator*, by Sewell Thomas, (The Caxton Printers, Ltd., Caldwell, Idaho, 1959). Pp. xi; 226; *photos; pictorial appendix.* \$7.50.

This book is like two different books in one binding. One deals with Charles Thomas' political career, and the other is a fascinating history of the mining towns in which he carried on most of his legal practice.

From the standpoint of popular interest, the latter is the more attractive. The author's style is frank, outspoken, realistic, and often amusing. Much of it is in the vernacular of the mines.

Charles S. Thomas was born before the Civil War on a Georgia plantation. While still a mere boy, he served as a Southern soldier during the last dreadful months of

the conflict. He saw Savannah "after Sherman got through with it." He saw the poverty, hunger and devastation that was the aftermath of war. This experience made him hate Abraham Lincoln and everything Northern. After the war, his widowed mother took her two sons into the North where Charles promptly acquired the nickname, "Johnny Reb." Nevertheless, he won his degree in law from the University of Michigan in 1871. Then he followed the sound advice to "Go to the undeveloped territories of the West where people were too busy to discuss the war or to entertain sectional

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bitterness." He chose Denver, then a town of only about six thousand. There he hung up his shingle, and soon learned he would have to specialize in mining law, since mining was the principal industry in the area.

The young man's services as an attorney took him to Leadville early in the mining boom there. So much business came to him that he established a branch office there which was soon four times as active as his Denver office. His work at Leadville took him to Creede at the very start of that boom.

After the turn of the century, the activity started at Goldfield, Nevada. Charles Thomas, the mining attorney, was there for many years. At the height of its glory, Goldfield was a dry, dusty, treeless town of about twenty-five thousand people. It had a Chamber of Commerce, a newspaper, and it had "high society." The author, Sewell Thomas, was the son of Charles S. Thomas, and was also in the mining business in Goldfield.

The book is full of fascinating descriptions of the mining camps, and of stories of prospectors and miners. The reader completely loses sight of Charles Thomas in the accounts of mining lore. So much for the mining side of the book.

The political part is less dramatic, perhaps due to the author-son's personal bent. Always interested in politics, Charles S. Thomas entered the arena locally shortly after he started his practice in Denver. His first public office was that of city attorney. He was chosen as a delegate to the National Democratic Convention in

1880 and also served in later National Conventions. In 1884, he ran for Congress but was defeated by his Republican opponent. A year later, he argued his first case before the United States Supreme Court; a case of a jumped claim. For twelve years he served as the National Democratic Committeeman from Colorado. In 1898, Charles S. Thomas was elected Governor of Colorado on the Democratic ticket with the added support of the "Silver Republicans" and the Populists. He served as governor from 1899 to 1901. He clashed violently with William Jennings Bryan, within the party. The reader learns much of early Colorado politics.

Perhaps Charles Thomas' crowning service for his country was his eight years in Washington as United States Senator from Colorado. This was from 1913 to 1921. Thereafter he continued practicing law in Washington for a few years and then returned to his home in Denver to finish out his life in retirement — except for his lively interest in politics. He opposed Woodrow Wilson and fought the League of Nations plan. He hated Franklin D. Roosevelt and the whole New Deal. He even refused Roosevelt's request for an interview when he was in Denver. Yet he was always a staunch Democrat.

Though the author was Charles Thomas' son, the book contains very little material of a personal nature. The reader is left scarcely knowing Charles Thomas, the man, except what he gathers from his political career. Historically, the book offers much information on Colorado and Nevada mining activities. And it is entertainingly presented. — *Margaret Romer.*

THE BLOND RANCHERO, *Memories of Juan Francisco Dana*. As told to Rocky Dana and Marie Harrington. (Dawson's Book Shop, Los Angeles, 1960.) 133 p., illus., cloth. \$6.00.

Marie Harrington, in collaboration with Rocky Dana, grandson of the "Blond Ranchero" has, by means of personal interviews, visits to the Nipomo Rancho, and searching various periodicals of the Counties of San Luis Obispo and Santa Barbara, brought together a charming and expressive book, a splendid memento of an interesting life that spanned the years from 1838 to 1936.

For ninety-eight years, "*El Huero*," (the Fair-Haired One) so named by John Charles Frémont, lived on the 38,000-acre land grant called Nipomo. Don Juan Francisco Dana was favored with a keen and retentive memory and an ability to scrutinize the surroundings about him. The book is enriched with detailed descriptions of the cattle and sheep trade, outlaws, politics, transportation, customs and folk-

lore of the San Luis Obispo and Santa Barbara Counties, as encountered in the course of his long lifetime.

Beginning during the Mexican days and extending over the latter half of the Nineteenth Century, Don Juan Francisco remembered many episodes in the annals of California and his nostalgic, poignant and yet every-day "down-to-earth" memoirs present an exceptionally fine nugget of Californiana. Not only will the searcher be rewarded with material covering the pastoral life of Central California — the "Days of the Dons" — but an additional bonanza of pictures of "*los Tiempos Viejos*" (the old times) of many small townships dotting these two counties, notably Guadalupe, Arroyo Grande, Pismo, Los Alamos, Piru, Nipomo, Los Olivos and Santa Maria are included.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Personal acquaintances include Don Isaac Sparks, Don Francisco Branch, Juan Miguel Price, Don "Julian" Foxen, and Captain Alpheus B. Thompson.

Marie Harrington is to be congratulated upon achieving throughout a feeling of warmth and personal interest seldom

achieved in so short of a biographical study of this nature and it is to be hoped that further studies of this type will be forthcoming to add their valuable pieces of information to the incomplete but slowly growing picture of the transition period of California. — *Everett Gordon Hager.*

APACHE, NAVAHO AND SPANIARD, by Jack D. Forbes. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960.) 304 pp. \$5.95.

APACHE, NAVAHO AND SPANIARD is an outstanding contribution to the relatively unexplored field of ethnohistory. The extensive use of primary and secondary sources coupled with an excellent and exhaustive *Bibliography* show the results of careful archival research. Both history and anthropology shall benefit greatly from Dr. Forbes' work, for he has carefully intertwined historical narrative with anthropological description.

Beginning with an anthropological introduction to the Athapascan peoples, this work carries the reader through the first Spanish contacts with the Apache, the expeditions of Cabeza de Vaca, Fray Marcos de Niza, Melchior Diaz, and Francisco Vasques de Coronado. These earliest contacts were of a fundamentally peaceful nature, however, the area explored was later to become the scene of some of the most violent Indian wars ever waged.

The subjection of the New Mexico pueblos carried with it plunder, slavery, rapine, and greed. It appears that New Mexico and been a peaceful region prior to the coming of Europeans, but the latter had upset an existent balance which caused conflict between the "reduced" and independent peoples.

The opening of the mines in Zacatecas, Durango, Chihuahua, and Coahuila in the late sixteenth Century brought the introduction of the horse to the Apaches through thievery and trade. With this new and rapid mode of transportation, the Indian was enabled to carry on a defense adequate to force the retreat of Spain from the Northern mines. Determined to retain and exploit the North, the Viceroy, in 1598, commissioned Juan de Onate to head an expedition to New Mexico. For the next ten years, Onate harshly reduced the Indians of the New Mexico pueblos. Excesses continued, and revolts were constant, but not widespread.

The role of the regular clergy, particularly the Franciscans, is not overlooked here. The *Frailes* were early given the charge of conversion and were used to hold

the Pueblos in check by armistices and reduction. By 1629, all of the Athapascan peoples were at peace; however, slave raids soon caused uprising.

The clerical influence was questioned, primarily due to jealousy, under Governor Luis de Rosas, and from 1639 to 1644 a civil war raged, resulting in an unfavorable picture of the Spaniards by the Indian.

To the South, in Sonora, the Tarahumara were in revolt, and in 1649 the Navaho became bellicose and began to raid the pueblos. By 1661 almost all of the Southern Athapascan peoples were in revolt, and by 1667, famine and epidemics had caused even greater unrest. Pueblos were abandoned, and Christianized Indians were returning to their old religion, so that by 1680 the anti-Spanish, "Pan-Indian" feeling was so strong that Governor Antonio de Otermin was given the alternative of war or abandonment of Santa Fé.

The opening of the Pueblo Revolt saw the withdrawal of Spain to El Paso and, although punitive expeditions were made, the entire Southwest was in rebellion within four years, and in 1690, Father Eusebio Kino, who had gone there three years previously feared the loss of Sonora.

To complicate further the Spanish dilemma, the intrusion of France in Texas brought uprising in that area. Through the doggedness of Governor Diego de Vargas Zapata y Lujan, however, New Mexico was secured by 1695, and although fraught with minor uprisings, was later completely reduced. In Sonora, with the aid of some Pima and the strong Opata allies, Captain Juan Mateo Manje brought to a close the "Great Southwestern Revolt."

Although somewhat an "indigenist," the author has presented a scholarly, well-written, and valuable contribution to the history of the American West. APACHE, NAVAHO AND SPANIARD should become the standard work in its field. — *Michael Mathes.*

Book Reviews

A. LINCOLN, PRAIRIE LAWYER, by John J. Duff. (Rinehart & Co., Inc., New York; Toronto, 1960.) Pp. viii; 433.

The chronicle of LINCOLN, THE LAWYER by a lawyer covers Lincoln's career from his arrival in New Salem in 1831 and his early contacts there, through his final years at the bar, which concluded after his nomination for Presidency. The last legal matter of which we have a record was a motion heard by Judge Treat who in June, 1860, was sitting in the U.S. Court in Springfield.

My interest in Lincoln as a lawyer stems from two sources — first, as having practiced law for some twenty-three years prior to coming to Los Angeles and, second, as to my collection of some twelve Lincoln pleadings, photostats of which I furnished Author Duff and which he acknowledged in his volume.

The first full-sized volume regarding Lincoln as a lawyer was that of Henry Clay Whitney's LIFE ON THE CIRCUIT WITH LINCOLN, published in 1892. This volume was not confined to Lincoln the Lawyer, but to his entire career. A number of the sketches are desultory and of uneven character, lacking unity and homogeneity. Frederick Trevor Hill's LINCOLN, THE LAWYER, published in 1906, deals more specifically with Lincoln's career as a lawyer.

Lincoln's legal training and experiences were of tremendous help to him when he served as President. It is odd that his biographers should not have sensed the law's tremendous influence upon his every act as President. His literary masterpieces, knowledge of men and laws when delicate legal and constitutional questions were

constantly presenting themselves for consideration, his arguing for the indissoluble nature of the compact between the states, can all be traced to his legal experiences and career.

This story of Lincoln, by John J. Duff, a Manhattan trial lawyer, presents the clearest account yet available of the Eighth Illinois Judicial Circuit which Lincoln traveled and sound appraisals and observations of Lincoln the attorney. This circuit necessitated travelling more than 400 miles over rough roads, and accounted for Lincoln's many prolonged absences from his Springfield home. Lincoln made the circuit twice a year through fourteen counties comprising the heart of central and eastern Illinois.

Lincoln's great skill and activity as an Appellate advocate is demonstrated and his importance in the development of Illinois law in this formative period is emphasized. The author discusses Lincoln's Pardon Petitions, a subject little touched upon, in which he reveals the skillful manner in which Lincoln intervened with various Governors to assist human beings in need of help.

Another interesting and unusual chapter covers the subject of Lincoln's law clerks and his public service as a bar examiner. The volume contains fifty-four illustrations splendidly reproduced. Sixty-two pages of Notes, Appendix, Bibliography and Index, attest the scholarship and painstaking effort which went into the work, and makes this volume useful and interesting. — Justin G. Turner.

U. S. MARINE CORPS AIRCRAFT, 1914-1959, by William T. Larkins, (Aviation History Publications, Concord, Calif., 1959). Pp. iii, 203; 5 1/2" x 8 1/2". Index; Cloth, \$5.00.

Aviation enthusiasts will find in this pictorial history of Marine Corps aircraft a veritable treasure house of photos, old and new, of the various types of planes that have been flown by the Corps. Occasionally, the compiler has found it necessary to substitute photos of Navy planes where shots of Marine aircraft of the same make and model were unavailable. In addition to 490 pictures, the book presents some tables of Marine Corps air strength over the years. Author Larkins brings to his subject a lifelong interest in aviation including military service and frequent contributions to aircraft journals. Even for the casual reader there is interest in the historical development of aircraft from the clumsy-appearing, low-powered, propeller type biplanes to sleek, high-

powered, supersonic jets. Also pictured are seaplanes, gliders, transports, fighters, bombers, helicopters, etc. Interest to California readers is enhanced by the fact that many of the photos were taken in the state.

To facilitate identification of planes as to dates of use, each page is dated at the top and photographic credits are given for each picture. Also of interest are the various insignia and decor changes which can be traced in the pictorial record. Brief informative notes below each picture help tell the skeleton story of Marine air power, while an index by manufacturer helps to locate aircraft types within the book. In short, the book provides a museum of aircraft history. — Donald C. Cutter.

An Announcement

The Directors of your Historical Society have reluctantly found it necessary to increase the annual dues. In these days of rising costs, the only thing that has not gone up in many years is the cost of your membership. In order to maintain the high quality of the QUARTERLY and the hospitality at our monthly meetings, this increase was unavoidable.

GUSTAVE O. ARLT,
President

Gifts to the Society

In each issue of THE QUARTERLY there appears a list of the donors and gifts made currently to the Society.

The Society is making an especial effort to build up its collection of historic materials, such as diaries, letters, account books, early newspapers, theatre and other programs, pictures of early-day life in California and costumes. We need your help.

Many members having treasured ancestral keepsakes were impelled to give them to the Society because of the realization that in private possession they would, sooner or later, disappear or deteriorate, whereas, in the custody of the Historical Society of Southern California they will be preserved indefinitely.

MRS. MARCO R. NEWMARK, Curator

MRS. VERA H. DUNNING: Autographed copy of LOS ANGELES CITY OF DREAMS, by Harry Carr, with Illustrations by E. H. Suydam, published by D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1935.

HARRY MUIR KURTZWORTH: Book, WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA, 1948-1949.

FRANCIS J. HICKSON: Books, CALIFORNIA OF THE SOUTHLAND, History of U.C.L.A., 1937; THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC WHO'S WHO, 1950-1951; LOS ANGELES AND ENVIRONS, by Guinn, 1915 (3 volumes); LOS ANGELES FROM THE MOUNTAINS TO THE SEA, by McGroarity, 1921; THE STORY OF HOLLYWOOD, 1950.

ESTATE OF MAYNARD McFIE — American Flag collection, 3" x 5" mounted on wooden staffs; World War I service flag of decedent's brother Will; Banner Showing American and Japanese colors 14" x 18" used by Japanese school children to greet Colonel and Mrs. Charles A. Lindbergh on their arrival in Japan, 1931; *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th edition, 29 volumes) with handmade mahogany case; Framed picture — *Five-paneled panorama of Los Angeles from Court House Hill*, taken May 13, 1869.

MR. CHARLES PUCK — Program: *150th Anniversary of the founding of Los Angeles*.

F. B. PUTNAM: Map, Los Angeles City, Photograph of Plaza Fire Station, Forty-four photographs 5" x 7"; Los Angeles Historic views.

SECURITY FIRST NATIONAL BANK: Fourteen 12" x 15" colored photographs of Los Angeles; Map of Los Angeles 1781.

Gifts of the Society

MR. OTTO J. ZAHN — books "*My Seventy Years in California, 1857-1927*" by J. A. Graves, (published by Times-Mirror Press, 1929); "*California Memories, 1857-1930*" by Jackson A. Graves, (published by Times-Mirror Press, 1930).

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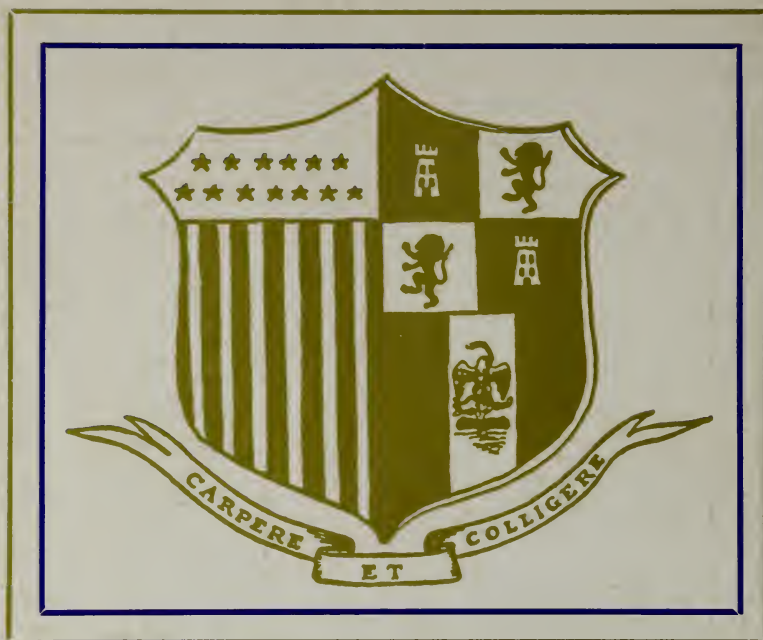
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THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

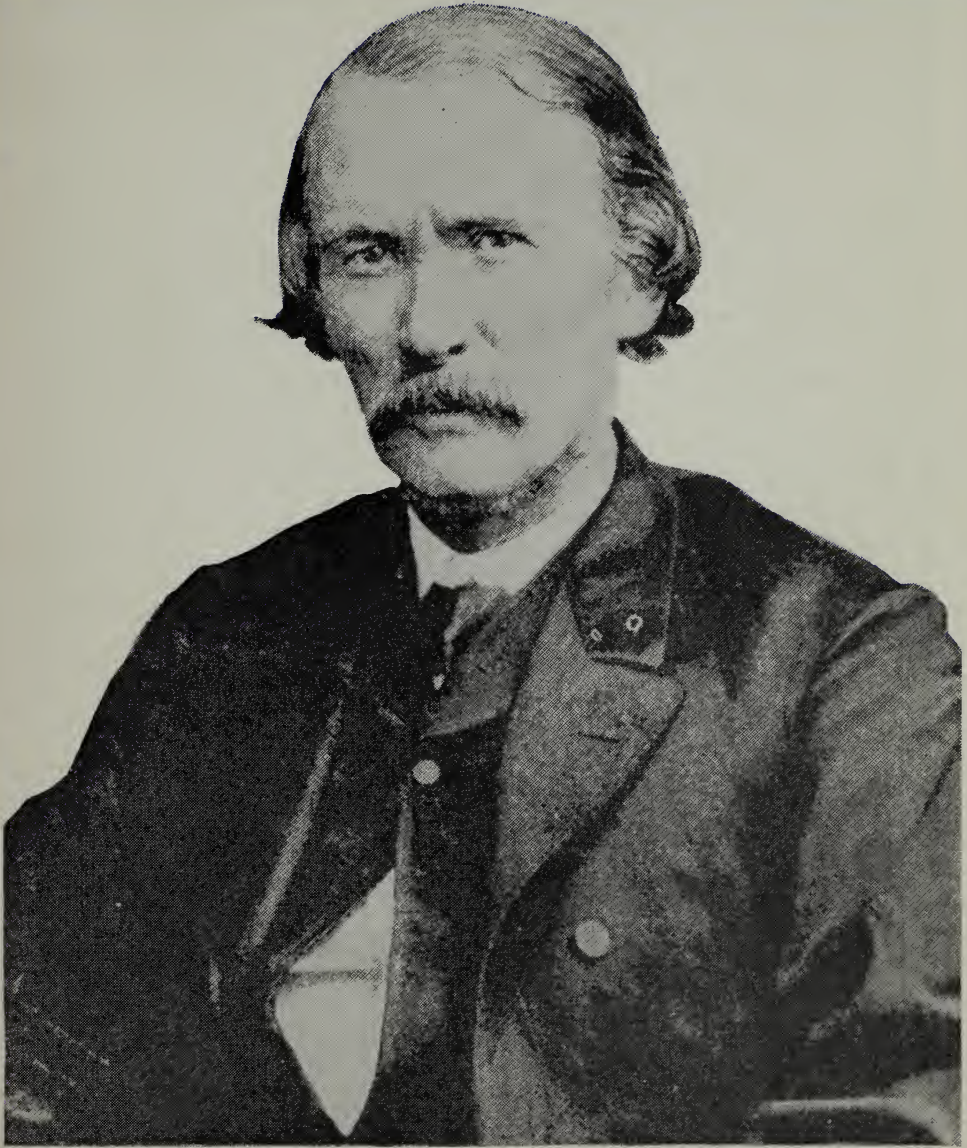
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December, 1960

Vol. XLII — No. 4

The
Historical Society of Southern California
QUARTERLY



—Photo courtesy of Charles Carson

KIT CARSON

"On a horse, he was superb!"

(See page 331)

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA was organized in 1883, and has enjoyed a record of continuous activity for seventy-seven years. Commencing in 1884, and each year until 1934, the Society issued an ANNUAL Publication. In 1935 the QUARTERLY was initiated. It is published each March, June, September and December.

It is the aim of the Publications Committee to make the QUARTERLY a publication of general historical interest. Suggestions and criticisms are always welcomed, and all persons, whether members of the Society or not, are invited to submit for the consideration of the editors original articles, old letters, documents, maps and other material bearing upon the history and development of this region.

The Society's Purposes and Objectives are:

- To sponsor and encourage observances of historic dates and anniversaries;
- To preserve and protect the archives and historic sites of the Southwest with particular stress on Southern California;
- To assist in the marking and restoration of landmarks which inspire interest and respect for events, persons and customs of the past;
- To promote activity in the conservation of public records, historical documents, newspapers, museum material and related Californiana;
- To preserve, as an aid to business and industry, business records, industrial and transportation history and the use of historic material in public relations;
- To encourage the increased use of history in the schools, to the end that there shall be developed a greater interest in, respect for, and loyalty to our American institutions;
- To publish material of permanent historic interest and significance;
- To assist and encourage all persons and organizations engaged in similar activities;
- To hold regular monthly meetings in Los Angeles (except during the summer months) at which persons of recognized authority in their respective subjects appear as guest speakers, followed by refreshments and a social hour;
- To gather at least once each year in a pilgrimage to some spot of historic significance.

This Society is a public non-profit corporation. The principal sources of revenue for its operations and maintenance are from membership dues, contributions and bequests. It renders a needed public service and is worthy of your support.

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The
Historical Society of Southern California

QUARTERLY

VOLUME XLII

December, 1960

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The Historical Society of Southern California

FOUNDED NOVEMBER 1, 1883

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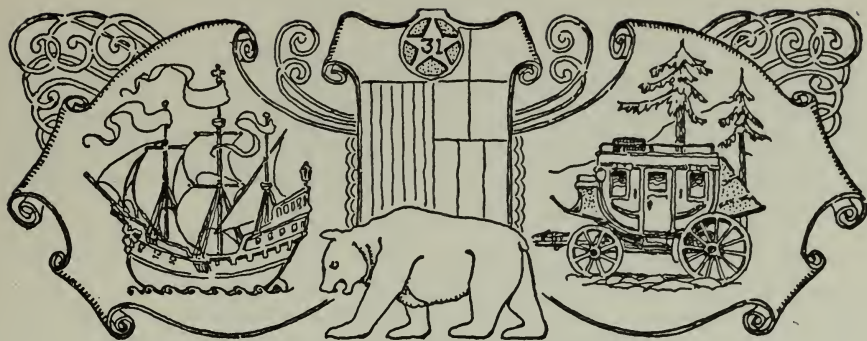
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The Historical Society of Southern California QUARTERLY for December, 1960

Kit Carson

*By Jessie Benton Fremont**

AS A FRONTIERSMAN his name and fame are everywhere known, but there are perhaps few who think of him except as the hero of wild adventures. That he was, but he was more. Nothing could be more mistaken than to think of him as a rough borderer.

Kit Carson was a man among men, a type of the real American pioneer, not only fearless but clear-headed, as gentle as he was strong. He had the true courtesy of the heart, and withal a quiet pride — much as Richard the Lion-Heart and his knights, who thanked God they were not clerks.

When he was to come to our house for the first time (he had just ridden overland from California on his mission from General Frémont, and my father, then in St. Louis, charged him to visit us) my mother was a little uneasy.

He was accompanied by Edward Beale, then a midshipman, afterward General Beale. Carson was shy and reserved, and his welcome as one who had been Frémont's companion and right-hand man overwhelmed him. Yet he was not awkward. A perfect

* **EDITOR'S NOTE:** This graphic word portrait of Kit Carson, penned by Mrs. John C. Frémont at the age of 73, appeared in the February, 1897, issue of *Sunshine Magazine*, which was edited by Charles F. Lummis. The article is contributed by Charles Carson, a descendant of Kit Carson, who has a copy of the magazine.

gentleman, his dignity and delicacy completely disarmed my mother. He had been afraid the ladies might not care to have him there if they knew he had married an Indian wife. "But she was a good woman," he declared. "I never came in from hunting but she had water warm for my feet." I have always remembered that; it was so like the simplicity of the Bible.

Carson was perfectly Saxon, clear and fair, with light thin hair, blue eyes, light eyebrows and lashes and a fair skin. He was very short and unmistakably bandy-legged; long-bodied and short-limbed, a man of great strength and vitality. On a horse he was superb, one of the most perfect riders of the frontier. He was one of the best marksmen.

He had a quick and gentle sense of humor. There was no self-consciousness in him, nor bitterness.

It used to delight him to go to the market (we lived in Washington) and watch the crowds and talk with the market people. That it could be so easy to procure food was a revelation to him. As my mother said, he who had so often had to risk his life for a mouthful could appreciate this abundance.

He was devoted to my daughter Lilly, then seven years old. She seemed wonderful to him, for the children he had known on the frontier, of course, had not had many advantages and he was surprised at her ideas. Sensitive to every generous and refined impulse, as he was, he was charming to children.

One day, I remember, he bought a pair of turtle doves in the market and brought them home to Lil in a squirrel-cage. It was in Washington in the slave days, but he brought the cage in his own hand, a thing no white person thought of doing there in those days.

He told her how in the wilderness he used to hear the doves call, and that when he was in the market and heard these lamenting he wished to get them for her. The child was faithful in caring for them, but one hot September day, fagged and wilted, she forgot and they were drooping. I was going to care for them, but he said, "No, let her see what she has done. One lesson will be enough for her."

She attended to them, and then Carson took her on his knee and talked to her with the very feeling of the Hindus — that the life of the smallest creature should never be taken except at need. Next day in looking over *Littell's Living Age*, he found Andersen's "The Lark and the Daisy" and had me read it to him, Lil sobbing and Carson comforting her.

"I went to school in a log cabin school house," he said. "One day there came the cry of Injuns, and I ran with the men — and

Kit Carson

thar it lays! But I would give five thousand dollars if I could read as you can!"

There was an illustrated edition of Byron in the parlor, and in it one day Carson came upon the steel engraving of Mazeppa and began to see what it meant. "Read it to me!" he cried at last. "You can read it so much faster." So I read to him. He walked up and down, intensely stirred.

*"There never yet was human power
That could evade, if unforgiven,
The patient search, and vigil long,
Of him who treasures up a wrong."*

"That's it! That's the word!" he broke out. "*He* knows how it is! It took me three years before I could go back and *thank* those Blackfeet for robbing my caches." After this, I had to read Mazeppa to him nearly every day.

Carson was of Kentucky stock, transplanted to Missouri. His simplicity, like his courage, was of the old pioneer stamp. My mother said to him one day, "You must have had a great many fights."

"I never had a fight of my own but one," Carson answered. "That was with a Frenchman. He said the Americans were cowards and darsn't fight. I told him that I was an American and I was his man. And we fit." He turned back his collar unconsciously and simply, and showed the wound by the collar-bone.

This first visit of Carson to our home lasted three weeks and he enjoyed seeing and comprehending the life of the cities. He never could get over his surprise and pleasure at seeing how easy it was to get food here without danger. But he was not dazzled.

"They are princes here in their fine houses," he said, "and with people to wait on them. But on the plains *we* are the princes, and their lives would be worth nothing without us."

Yet the hot days of waiting were long to him, waiting on the politicians of the State Department while his captain's interests called. They were trying to let California work out its own solution, that they might not have to compromise themselves between Frémont and some of the army people.

Carson soon found out for himself that they were not to be depended upon. When he had an interview with Buchanan, who had grey hair, a white waistcoat and cravat and a most respectable air, Carson again felt that he had been trifled with. He told the Secretary the grass was failing, and unless he got away at once there would be no food for the horses on the long journey — and

still he was put off. "Who would have thought it?" he mused. "And such a fair-looking gentleman, too, but he was deceitful!"

Buchanan offered Carson an escort of soldiers, which alarmed the frontiersman. Said he, "I don't want soldiers, I want men. Give me Andrew Sublette and one other, men that know the country. What use would soldiers be?"

But at last he got away, and I accompanied him and Mr. Beale to St. Louis, whence Carson set out on his long return ride to California — there to find the delay had accomplished its purpose. His captain had been brought back under arrest by General Kearny.

It was nearly twenty years before his second and last visit. The winning of the West had been accomplished. The Civil War had come and gone. The famous pioneer and scout of the old days was now Colonel Carson. He had won his heart's desire, to wear and honor the uniform of his country. He had achieved distinction for gallant and valuable service in the army, and honest and competent record as an Indian agent.

But it was a sad visit. He was already stricken with death, and his face was drawn with suffering. A half "broken" animal had dragged him, entangled in his reata, inflicting mortal injuries. Yet the indomitable will held him up, and the old sweetness and considerateness and simplicity still marked his nature. He must fulfill his mission, and he must get back to his single-hearted wife in Taos, New Mexico.

After the death of his Indian wife he had married a sister-in-law of Maxwell, of the famous Maxwell land grant. He reached home, but the end was near. His wife died of grief at his condition, leaving a young babe, and in a few months he followed her.

Carson, Owens and Godey were Frémont's "Three Musketeers." Each was a specialist. All were singularly cool, brave and resourceful — and *faithful*, beyond chance of change or failure. It was not in them.

Carson's adventurous life as hunter, trapper and scout is a part of our history. He was one of the finest types of the American backwoodsman. As Lieutenant Walpole of *H.M.S. Collingwood*, who witnessed the arrival of Frémont and his men at Monterey, wrote in his *Four Years in the Pacific*:

Here were true trappers, the class that produced the heroes of Fennimore Cooper's best works. He has one or two with him who enjoy a high reputation on the prairies. Kit Carson is as well known there as the Duke (of Wellington) is in Europe.

He is known for what he did, but I have cared to speak to you rather of what he was — the heart he had, the clear, simple, large nature.



—From Croft's Transcontinental Tourist's Guide (1871)

Fig. 1 — THE PACIFIC RAILROAD, OMAHA-SACRAMENTO

Westward by Rail with Professor Sedgwick: *A Lantern Journey of 1873*

By William D. Pattison

IN NEW YORK CITY in the early 1870's the Pacific Railroad (Fig. 1) was a major object of public attention. Since its opening in the spring of 1869, with the joining of Union Pacific and Central Pacific rails at Promontory, it had given rise to written travel accounts, travel guides and fictional stories through which Eastern readers were forming in fancy a picture of the newly accessible West. Two obviously appropriate additional means of meeting the popular demand for knowledge of the route were the traveler's lecture and the photograph, which were then being combined by some speakers for the first time into illustrated travel talks. A New Yorker who brought this combination to bear on the Pacific Railroad was Stephen James Sedgwick (Fig. 2).¹



*Yours truly,
S. J. Sedgwick*

—From Sedgwick Announcement
and Catalogue (1873)

Fig. 2 —

STEPHEN JAMES SEDGWICK



—From Sedgwick Announcement
and Catalogue (1879)

Fig. 3 —

COVER OF ANNOUNCEMENT

Sedgwick was an experienced teacher and holder of an honorary master of arts degree who billed himself as "Professor" (Fig. 3). He began lecturing on the Pacific Railroad late in 1869, but his presentations do not appear to have become fully developed in content and popularity until 1873, hence the present article is concerned with that year. In taking a new look at Sedgwick's long-forgotten lecturing the purpose is to do justice to a kind of popular entertainment and instruction which, though of undeniable contemporary influence, has received little historical notice.

The visual form which public imaginary travel principally assumed up to the late 1860's was the painted or sketched panorama rather than the photograph. For more than thirty years in New York and elsewhere popular showmen had been presenting remote places through large panoramas mounted not only on the walls of specially built halls but also on portable, upright spindles which allowed the extension of canvas across a stage, painted scenes moving horizontally from one roller onto another in a succession simu-

lating a traveller's passing views. These moving panoramas, attaining lengths of hundreds of feet, were especially effective in representing long river trips, the most favored of these having been the voyage down the Mississippi. No less suitable would have been a trip on the Pacific Railroad. In 1868, a man named Delavan travelled the railroad, to the extent that it was then complete, collecting materials for a moving panorama to be titled, "Across the Continent, Omaha-San Francisco."² He made photographs and sketches as working materials for intended scenes on canvas, returned to the East, and was not heard of again. There may have been other men with similar intentions, but all panoramic efforts were condemned to failure in the face of competition from the newly successful projected photograph, printed directly upon glass slides and vastly magnified by a magic lantern for public view.³

Sedgwick was a veteran handler of the magic lantern by the time the Pacific Railroad had opened. He had identified himself in 1860 as a "Lecturer on Microscopical Anatomy and Physiology,"⁴ that is, the kind of lecturer who by projecting from his lantern through a microscope exhibited to fascinated audiences the circulation of blood in a frog's foot, the minute pond-life in a tiny tank or the figure of a flea made to seem as big as an elephant. Substances were dissolved in liquid, crystals were formed, and bubbling gases were released, all with marvelous magnification.

Sedgwick's experience with the lantern as a magnifier extended through its most important period of change. He watched its illuminant pass from sperm oil to kerosene and, in the late 1860's, to limelight, which was produced by playing a gas jet against a little pellet of calcium or "lime." At the jet, separate tubes delivered oxygen and hydrogen, with dangers which operators were willing to risk for the sake of light of unprecedented intensity. With better lighting, manufacturers offered greatly improved instruments which could be placed at distances from the screen that permitted operators for the first time to command audiences of theater size.

Having begun his magic lantern work while a teacher, and having continued it during a period of heading a private school in Manhattan, Sedgwick had by 1868 left teaching altogether to devote his full attention to illustrated lecturing. Supporting a family by this means, and responding to speaking invitations from groups in New York City and many nearby towns and villages, he talked principally on natural history and the world's great religions. Early in 1868 his pictures were for the most part paintings and drawings on glass slides, the work of commercial artists, but his stock of photographic slides increased greatly in ensuing months. In November,

1868, he brought out a lecture on Egypt almost entirely illustrated with photographs. Soon after, his interest turned to the Pacific Railroad.

SEDGWICK AND THE UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD STEREOSCOPIC VIEWS

Sedgwick with patience, might have been able to assemble enough photographs for one Pacific Railroad lecture, at least, without leaving New York, as he had been able to do for his talk on Egypt. Lantern slides were at that time largely a by-product of the tremendously popular double views for parlor stereoscopes, and a major photographic supply house in New York offered such views of the Pacific Railroad for sale.⁵ If Sedgwick had ordered slides from this source, each representing half a stereoscopic view, and if he had placed another order by mail with William Henry Jackson of Omaha, who also sold stereoscopic photos of the railroad,⁶ he would have been in a position to talk, if only at second hand, about the American West.

Rather than continue as a purveyor of purchased photography Sedgwick made a dramatic break, suspended his lecturing, and went west, probably making a first trip at some time after the spring thaw in 1869 in the company of A. J. Russell, an experienced Civil War photographer.⁷ Assuming that he returned to New York, as Russell did, with the onset of winter, he then made a second trip west in the spring of 1870 and perhaps stayed through the summer following.

Although Sedgwick later stated in a public announcement that he had served as a member of the "photographic corps of the U.P.R.R.," (*Fig.4*), he was never on the Union Pacific payroll, unlike Russell, a Brooklyn photographer named O. C. Smith, and one J. P. Silvis.⁸ Sedgwick probably was one of several photographic assistants. The combined production of all these men went into a series officially known as the "Union Pacific Railroad Stereoscopic Views," in which nearly six hundred photos showed the Union Pacific route from Omaha to Promontory, and thirty or so more views, taken in the territory of the Central Pacific Railroad, completed the coverage to Sacramento.⁹ The views in this series today are well-known collectors' items.

The fact that some of the Union Pacific views identify Sedgwick simply as a New York sales agent and lecturer and that none of them name him as a photographer has led to a mistaken estimate of his role in the history of the series. Published catalogues of the views were gotten out by Sedgwick, beginning in 1873, listings

Westward by Rail with Professor Sedgwick

CATALOGUE
OF
Stereoscopic Views of Scenery

IN ALL PARTS OF THE

ROCKY MOUNTAINS,

BETWEEN

OMAHA AND SACRAMENTO,

TAKEN BY THE

PHOTOGRAPHIC CORPS OF U. P. R. R.

OF WHICH PROF. SEDGWICK WAS A MEMBER,

FOR

UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD,

AT A COST OF OVER \$10,000.

1000 DIFFERENT STEREOSCOPIC VIEWS.

THE ONLY COMPLETE SERIES EVER TAKEN, AND NOW OFFERED TO THE PUBLIC.

This Series comprises Views in the Black Hills, in Medicine Bow, Uintah, Wahsatch and Sierra Nevada Mountains, in all parts of Utah, Views of Salt Lake City, Views of Track-laying, Laying of Last Rail, and all Important Points and Places between Omaha and Sacramento. Also, Views of Silver and Copper Mining Regions and Hydraulic Gold Mining in California, showing Miners at work, and also the Manner of Mining for Gold at the Present Day.

PUBLISHED BY

PROF. S. J. SEDGWICK,

NEWTOWN, QUEENS COUNTY,
NEW YORK.

—From Sedgwick Announcement and Catalogue (1873)

Fig. 4

which in themselves suggest a broad proprietary interest on his part.¹⁰ The possibility, however, that he might have gained custody of an entire original collection of wet-plate negatives for the series seems not to have occurred to later students of this period of American photography.¹¹ That he did get possession was revealed by discovery of the collection by the present author in 1960, in the keeping of an institution which had received them from a friend of the Sedgwick family.¹²

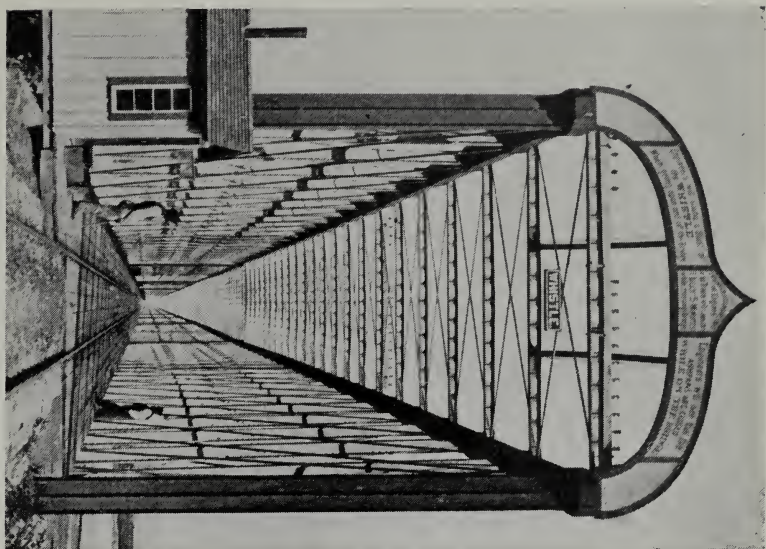
From the negatives, Sedgwick may have printed some of the stereoscopic views placed on the market in the 1870's. More certainly, he made prints for his own use in the form of glass slides¹³ which, as soon as they were ready, allowed him to begin presentation of his lantern journey, an imaginary trip whose authenticity, photographic quality and thoroughness of preparation excelled anything earlier attempted by this man. He understandably impressed and even awed the many groups in churches, schools and public halls before whom he performed.¹⁴

THE LANTERN JOURNEY

By 1873, Sedgwick's lantern journey had grown into four lectures, each lasting about an hour and a half and offering more than one hundred projected photographs. The first talk opened, after an extended prologue in praise of the Union Pacific, with a view of the only rail gateway to the Far West, the entrance to a bridge leading across the Missouri River into Omaha, Nebraska (*Fig. 5*). Succeeding pictures, advertised as moving "in panoramic form, in their relative and proper order,"¹⁵ soon took Sedgwick's audience through Omaha and onto the plains beyond.

Standing by his lantern, which he operated himself, Sedgwick kept up a running commentary, progressively developing a *traveler's* West for his listeners, a place for visiting and viewing rather than migrating to, from the East. As a visitor's guide he was notably just. He did his part toward a final dispelling of the illusion of the Great American Desert, which reputedly stretched westward from Omaha, by speaking of nutritious pasturage to be found there. Yet he noted accurately the cessation of trees along the railroad not far beyond Omaha and he spoke freely of the vast sandhills of western Nebraska and of some areas where alkali covered the ground "like a light fall of snow."¹⁶

As the imaginary trip extended toward the Rocky Mountains, a sense of immediacy steadily developed. Sedgwick was able to speak from experience of the eye's tiring as it beheld the expanse of the



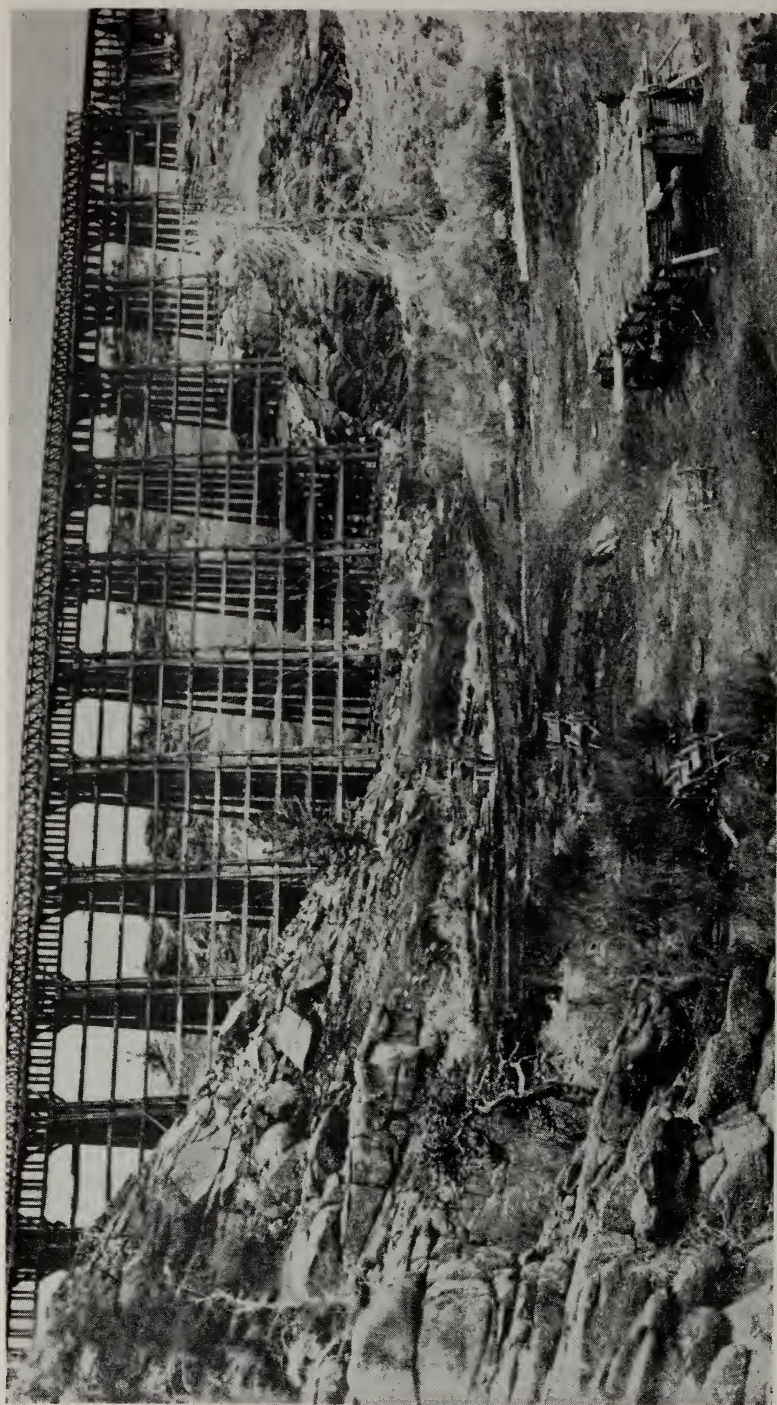
—Combes Collection, American Geographical Society

Fig. 5 — BEGINNING OF PACIFIC RAILROAD
Looking across Missouri River toward Omaha.
Bridge completed 1872.



—William Henry Jackson photo, National Archives

Fig. 6 — HIGH POINT, PACIFIC RAILROAD
Track at Sherman, Wyoming Territory;
elevation eighty-two hundred feet.



—Union Pacific Photo Collection, Omaha

Fig. 7 — MOST FAMOUS STRUCTURE ON PACIFIC RAILROAD
Date Creek Bridge, in Laramie Range of Rocky Mountains,
shown soon after completion, 1868.



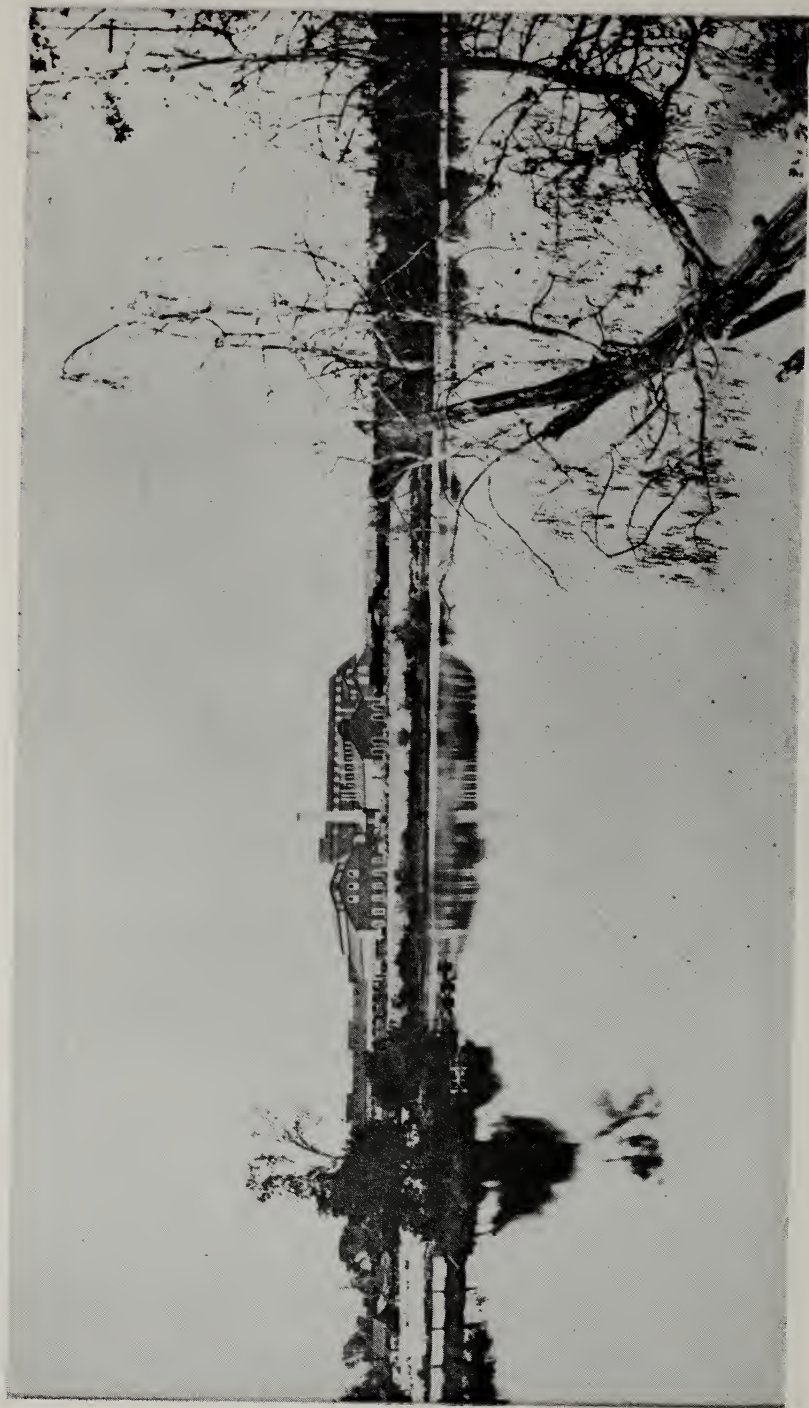
—Combes Collection, American Geographical Society

Fig. 8 — PHOTOGRAPHERS AT BREAKFAST,
UINTA MOUNTAINS



—Combes Collection, American Geographical Society

Fig. 9 — STREET SCENE, OGDEN,
UTAH TERRITORY



—Combes Collection, American Geographical Society

Fig. 10 — CENTRAL PACIFIC CONSTRUCTION AND REPAIR SHOPS,
SACRAMENTO. VIEWED ACROSS SACRAMENTO RIVER

Westward by Rail with Professor Sedgwick

plains, of the spectacle of buffalo herds and of the appearance of broken remnants of Indian tribes. He characteristically added notes on the distance between stations, the rate of ascent up the long slope of the plains, and the position of the railroad relative to the main emigrants' road to Oregon and California, frequently visible from the train. His pictures, upon which the impression of immediacy most depended, led onward and upward, eventually bringing the Rocky Mountains into view and soon after showing the Union Pacific's track, of iron rather than steel and laid in evident haste, as it crested the first range of mountains at Sherman, Wyoming Territory (*Fig. 6*), the highest point on the entire route to the Pacific.

After Sherman came what Sedgwick called "the grandest feature of the road." This was the Dale Creek Bridge (*Fig. 7*), all of wood and built in thirty days, a structure which seemed typically western to Easterners, and to Europeans, typically American. The bridge's general effect of daring was heightened, on the westward journey, by the experience of crossing in the midst of a twenty-mile downhill run, with steampower shut off and all brakes well screwed down. Speaking of this sensational aspect, Sedgwick found it equally important to add, "The dark walls of the canyon contrast wonderfully with the light and graceful appearance of the bridge."

In the Rocky Mountains, Sedgwick's interest in geology came to the fore. To some extent this was simply reflected in a favoring of rock formations as picture subjects, with accompanying comments comparing towering remnants of erosion with city ruins, or otherwise appealing to the imaginary traveler's sense of wonder. But more characteristically the exposed rock structures of the West brought out the teacher in Sedgwick. They gave him occasion to repeat an admonition of the great German traveler, Alexander von Humboldt, "To see is not always to observe," and to direct the thinking of his viewers from pictured scenery to the natural history lying behind it. In giving instruction, Sedgwick spoke not only as an interested naturalist of long standing but also as a reader indebted to reports on the explorations of F. V. Hayden, a government geologist then at the height of his reputation as an authority on the country traversed by the Union Pacific.¹⁷ He had the benefit, in addition, of oral reports passed on by railroad men regarding strata crossed in the boring of wells and fossils uncovered in construction work.

The first and most important of Sedgwick's talks ended with views at the crossing of the Green River, near Bryan, Wyoming Territory (*Fig. 1*). In his second lecture, Sedgwick took his audience from the high, open plateau country which had been on view

practically from the Dale Creek Bridge onward, first through mountain gorges of western Wyoming and then southward in a long, leisured digression away from the railroad into the Uinta Mountains. This detour allowed Sedgwick to relive a sojourn of several weeks in the Uintas taken by Union Pacific photographers in the summer of 1869. The photographers themselves played a part in this lecture, three of them appearing, for example, in a picture titled, "Artists at Breakfast" (*Fig. 8*). Some of the lecture's appeal doubtless lay in the camp life portrayed, and in associated tales of the fishing and hunting which had yielded the photographers a princely fare of trout, bear, beaver, rabbit and venison; but at least an equal share of interest arose from the visual excitement of remote mountain scenery as transmitted to Easterners by camera and lantern. The scenic appreciation voiced by A. J. Russell, leader of the photographic party, represents the aesthetic spirit of Sedgwick's talk better than any surviving evidence from the lecture itself. Wrote Russell of a view of Spectre Lake, in the Uintas, "[it shows in] the background a magnificent mountain peak, snowclad, and at its base a great forest of pines, tamarinds and balsams, a beautiful lake filling in the middle distance, and in the foreground, huge masses of rock, piled up in grotesque and fanciful shapes, and resting on a rich mat of vegetation of luxurious growth, with flowers of every hue and color, if they could be fixed on the plate."¹⁸

In this third lecture, Sedgwick returned from the Uintas to the Union Pacific route, followed it down into the Salt Lake Valley, and then forsook the railroad once more, this time for a report on the Mormon settlers of the Salt Lake region. At Ogden, Utah Territory, whence a Mormon-built railroad led southward to Salt Lake City, he showed Eastern viewers, familiar with townscapes of brick and stone, the contrasting rawness of a Main Street of the West (*Fig. 9*). Here, and in Salt Lake City itself, much else was found that typified the West, but at the same time a Mormon society was revealed which differed sharply from other pioneer American communities. In Sedgwick's opinion, which was very well informed and yet in its values not unusual for the period, the industry and courage of the Mormons appeared admirable, but their economic and political organization could only be feared. In particular, Sedgwick reported unfavorably on the then-new Zion's Co-operative Mercantile Institution, a retail organization created by Brigham Young for exclusively Mormon trade, some of whose Salt Lake City shops were shown on the screen.

Sedgwick had spent "pleasant months in company of the camera" in the Salt Lake region in 1870,¹⁹ thereby not only laying a

Westward by Rail with Professor Sedgwick

foundation for this third lecture but also intruding upon the territory of C. R. Savage, the Mormon photographer whose fame today rests upon his pictures taken at the joining of the rails at Promontory. Since Sedgwick made his camera visit among the Mormons despite the fact that Savage's photographs already covered Utah, not to mention points beyond, the implication is clear that even though Savage may have contributed some photos to the Union Pacific collection, he did not grant broad access to his work.²⁰

Sedgwick's final lecture, in contrast to its three predecessors, depended for pictures almost entirely upon photographers operating outside the Union Pacific photographic corps.²¹ To complete the contrast, the sources of information were apparently confined to travel accounts and guidebooks collected by Sedgwick.²² The opening scene in the lecture was at Ogden, where the Central Pacific's starting point had been relocated after the joining of the rails at Promontory, and the closing views were in Sacramento.

To judge by press notices, this fourth lecture expressed two qualities that marked Sedgwick's series as a whole and that suited the American temper of the time: an expansive spirit of national pride and a sense of gratification with the accomplishment of a great private corporation.²³ Moved by the former feeling, Sedgwick quoted with evident satisfaction Thomas Jefferson's well known commendation of American over European scenery; he found in the magnificent natural features of the West "the preordained home" of a great people; and he saw as the Pacific Railroad's essential accomplishment the strengthening of an empire whose greatest prize was California. His admiration for the works of the Central Pacific was hardly less than for those of its erstwhile adversary in a race for mileage, the Union Pacific. He showed bridges, snow sheds, rock-cut ledges, vast fills, stations and, nearly at the end, the Central Pacific shops at Sacramento (*Fig. 10*).

Although the view of railroad shops across the Sacramento River was exceptional as a photograph, being one of the very few pictures beyond Promontory taken by a Union Pacific photographer, in its subject matter it was something of an epitome. Sedgwick had shown railroad shops at Omaha and at every division point thereafter, but no earlier picture had attempted so unmistakably to reconcile factory walls and natural landscape, to celebrate steam-powered enterprise from a rural point of view. Sedgwick was a romanticizer of industrialism for whom this picture spoke as powerfully as any of his own words.

At Sacramento's passenger terminal, not far from the shops, Sedgwick's tourists came to the end of their transcontinental pas-

sage, but not without an awareness of possible further travel. The final pictures shown to them pointed toward San Francisco and to the world beyond. That ready transportation by both steamboat and rail awaited the traveler bound for San Francisco was not surprising to Sedgwick's audience, but that steam carriers offered the tourist an extension of scheduled travel around the world was a realization by which even recent trippers on the Pacific Railroad could be amazed. The opening of the Suez Canal in the fall of 1869 had completed a new, shortened way around the world which Jules Verne, writing in Paris, would within a few years make famous through his *AROUND THE WORLD IN EIGHTY DAYS*.²⁴ It was one of this great route's parts which Sedgwick, lecturing in New York, made real through his "Across the Continent" series of illuminated lectures in 1873.

NOTES

1. Discussion of Sedgwick's lecturing, where not otherwise noted, generally relies upon Sedgwick correspondence and papers in the Department of Special Collections, University Library, University of California, Los Angeles.
2. Opal M. Harber, "A Few Early Photographers of Colorado," *Colorado Magazine*, Vol. XXXIII (1956), p. 291.
3. Photographic lantern slides were first produced in 1848 by William and Frederick Langenheim of Philadelphia, but not until after the Civil War did slides become standardized media for photography.
4. S. J. Sedgwick, *Physical Education* (New York, 1860), title page. Copy in National Library of Medicine, Washington, D.C.
5. In December, 1870, the firm of E. and H. T. Anthony announced a line of Pacific Railroad views taken for them by T. C. Roche. See *Anthony's Photographic Bulletin*, Vol. I (1870), p. 233.
6. A copy of W. H. Jackson's *Catalogue of Stereoscopic, 6x8 and 8x10 Photographs* (Washington, 1871) may be found in the Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress.
7. Russell, later praised by Sedgwick as "foremost among landscape photographers in this country," had already spent a season of photography in the West. *Philadelphia Photographer*, Vol. VI (1869), p. 89.
8. See construction records, Union Pacific Railroad, Omaha. Also employed by the Union Pacific, but not as member of the "corps," were John Carbutt, who accompanied an official party to the end of track in central Nebraska, in 1886, and Alexander Gardner, who covered the Union Pacific's separate line westward from Kansas City, in 1867.
9. The views are listed in *Announcement of Prof. S. J. Sedgwick's Illustrated Course of Lectures and Catalogue of Stereoscopic Views of Scenery in All Parts of the Rocky Mountains, Between Omaha and Sacramento* (New York, 1873). The title page for the catalogue part of this publication (Fig. 4) speaks of one thousand views, but of this totals exactly six hundred thirteen pictures, including some from Central Pacific territory, comprised the official Union Pacific series.
10. *Ibid.*, and publications of slightly varying title dated 1874 and 1879, the last bearing identification, "Fourth Edition." These are the only known surviving editions.
11. This possibility is completely neglected in one of the few studies even to mention Sedgwick, Robert Taft's thorough and authoritative *Photography and the American Scene, A Social History, 1839-1889* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938), p. 306.

Westward by Rail with Professor Sedgwick

12. Dr. Abbott C. Combes, Jr., family physician to the Sedgwicks, presented the negatives to the American Geographical Society, New York City, in 1940 and 1941, having received them as a gift from S. J. Sedgwick's sole surviving heir. The present author plans further publication on this collection.
13. About half of these slides may be found today in the Combes Collection, American Geographical Society.
14. Sedgwick's residential base was Newtown, Queens County (later Borough of Queens), New York, whence he traveled to meetings elsewhere on Long Island, in Manhattan, and in nearby parts of Connecticut and New Jersey.
15. Advertisement on reverse side of stereoscopic view, Combes Collection, American Geographical Society.
16. The source of all quotations from this initial lecture is a Sedgwick MS titled "Westward the Star, &c., 1869," at Ledge Rest, Sheffield, Massachusetts, the residence of Mrs. A. C. Combes, Jr.
17. This indebtedness is acknowledged in Sedgwick to Hayden, Newton, New York, January 20, 1879, in Letters Received, the Hayden Survey, Record Group 57, the National Archives, Washington, D.C.
18. Letter from Russell, August 15, 1869, in *Anthony's Photographic Bulletin*, Vol. I (1870), p. 34.
19. Letter from Sedgwick, undated, received in April or May, 1870, *ibid.*, p. 56.
20. Savage in Salt Lake City, like William Henry Jackson in Omaha, received some payment from the Union Pacific Railroad, but he published stereoscopic views outside the official series.
21. The supplementary contributors were Central Pacific photographers, principally Alfred A. Hart, C. E. Watkins and Edward J. Muybridge.
22. About thirty western travel sources are recorded in "Catalogue of the Library of S. J. Sedgwick, 1883," MS at Ledge Rest, Sheffield, Massachusetts. No evidence of Sedgwick's venturing westward beyond Union Pacific territory has been found.
23. Press notices and other sources for discussion of Sedgwick's fourth lecture are contained in *Announcement of Lectures* (1879).
24. The following was the route around the world which the opening of the Suez Canal completed: London-Suez-Bombay-Calcutta-Hong Kong-Yokohama-San Francisco-New York-London. When Verne wrote his book, in 1872, advertised running times for the several parts of the route totaled about eighty days, of which three and a half days were allotted to passage on the Pacific Railroad.


APOLOGIES

The article entitled "The Calico Print" in the September number of the *QUARTERLY* was written by *Mr. Douglas W. Steeples*. We unfortunately misspelled his name both in the heading of the article and in the Table of Contents.

The Impeachment Trial of Controller G. W. Whitman, 1857

By Frank M. Stewart

*Professor of Political Science,
University of California, Los Angeles*

HE EIGHTH SESSION OF THE CALIFORNIA LEGISLATURE convened at Sacramento on January 5, 1857, amid official concern over the financial condition of the State and widespread rumors of irregularities in the operation of the State's fiscal affairs. Democratic majorities in both houses began an immediate and severe investigation of the conduct of the Treasurer of State and the Controller of State, both elected on the Know Nothing or American Party ticket on September 5, 1855. Management of the State Prison was also thoroughly examined. As a result of these investigations the Assembly impeached Henry Bates, Treasurer,¹ and George W. Whitman, Controller — the only impeachments of executive officers in California.

Whitman was born in Greenbrier County, Virginia, September 21, 1809. At the age of seventeen he went to Chillicothe, Ohio, and later to Wayne County, Indiana, where he followed the trade of a cabinet-maker. Later he studied and practiced law, and was, for several years, judge of the probate court of Wayne County. Arriving in San Francisco in May, 1850, he engaged in mining and lumbering in Mariposa and Tuolumne Counties until his election as State Controller. He took office on January 7, 1856.²

IMPEACHMENT BY THE ASSEMBLY

Two legislative committees investigated the Controller's office. On January 16 a joint committee of the Assembly and Senate was authorized to ascertain the amount of revenue paid into the Treasury for the year 1856; what amount in Controller's warrants was received; and if Controller's warrants were substituted for cash, by

The Impeachment Trial of Controller G. W. Whitman, 1857

whom and by what authority such was done. A report was filed on February 11.³

In the Assembly on January 21 a special committee of five was selected to inquire into the manner in which the provisions of the act for the better protection of the State Treasury, passed April 16, 1856, had been carried out and obeyed. Its depositions, was filed on January 31.⁴ A communication from the Controller to the Assembly, February 2, protested that great injustice had been done to him by the committee's report and requested an investigation in committee of the whole and opportunity for defense.⁵

On February 6 a resolution was adopted permitting the Controller to present oral or written arguments to the Assembly and providing that the special committee should take the deposition of any witnesses desired by the Controller and allow him to cross-examine them. An amendment to the resolution requiring the committee to report whether the Board of Examiners had complied with the law, and if not, what action should be taken by the Assembly, was defeated.⁶

A supplementary report of the special committee, filed February 10, stated that the Controller's witnesses had been examined by the committee in the presence of Whitman, who asked questions. From these depositions the committee said that no new facts had been found to change the conclusions already submitted.⁷

The next day a resolution to impeach Whitman for misdemeanor in office was referred to committee of the whole. After three days of discussion, the Assembly on February 13 adopted the impeachment resolution by a vote of 55 to 15. By other resolutions a committee of two was chosen to inform the Senate of the Assembly's action and a committee of five was selected to prepare articles of impeachment and conduct the prosecution before the Senate.⁸

Appearing at the bar of the Senate on February 14, the Assembly committee announced the impeachment of the Controller, stated that particular articles of impeachment would be presented later, and demanded that the Senate order Whitman to answer the impeachment. The Senate resolved that it would take such order and issue process against Whitman upon presentation of the articles of impeachment.⁹

In a report to the Assembly on February 24 the special committee of five submitted seven articles of impeachment. They were adopted that day and presented to the Senate on the twentieth-fifth.¹⁰ Immediately Governor J. Neely Johnson nominated Edward F. Burton to be Controller *ad interim* and the Senate promptly confirmed the appointment.¹¹

Most of the articles of impeachment were based on the conduct of the Controller under the act for the better protection of the State Treasury, approved April 16, 1856.¹² This law created a Board of Examiners, composed of the Governor, Secretary of State and Attorney General, and gave it the duty of examining at least once a month, the books of the Controller and Treasurer and of counting the moneys in the Treasury. Monthly the Board was to file in the office of the Secretary of State a sworn statement of the amount of moneys in the Treasury, as determined by actual count, and this statement was to be published in one daily newspaper in San Francisco, one in Sacramento and one in Stockton. It was the duty of the Controller and Treasurer to permit the Board to perform these functions without delay on any pretense.

The Controller was authorized to draw warrants on the Treasurer for the salaries of officers under appropriations. But all other claims and demands must have the prior approval of the Board before the Controller could draw his warrants. For auditing and approving legal claims provided for by appropriations, the Board was to hold semi-monthly sessions. Violation of the law by the Controller or Treasurer was made a felony.

Depositions by members of the Board, taken by the special Assembly committee investigating the observance of the above act, indicated that the Controller was greatly incensed by passage of the law, regarding it as a personal insult and a reflection upon his honesty as a State official. He was resentful toward the members of the Board for consenting to act under the law.¹³

The first article of impeachment charged that Whitman had declared that he would disregard the law and render it inoperative by offering violence to the Board if it should attempt to perform its duties. He had instructed the clerks in his office, under threat of discharge, not to give to the Board any assistance or information in making the examination of his books. Because of these obstructions the sole attempt of the Board, in May, 1856, to secure from the Controller's books information needed for the count of the moneys in the Treasury was wholly defeated and other duties of the Board were greatly delayed and hindered.

Other articles charged that: (1) Whitman had violated provisions of the Constitution in willfully neglecting to furnish information in writing from the Controller's books in response to two demands by the Governor in May, 1856;¹⁴ (2) that between April 16, 1856, and January 31, 1857, he had drawn warrants amounting to \$100,000 in favor of the State Prison Lessee or his agents without first securing the approval of the Board of Examiners, as required

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by law; and (3) that on the April 1, 1856, he had drawn his warrants for \$10,000 in favor of the Lessee under the State prison contract, in disregard of the act creating a Board of State Prison Commissioners, approved March 21, 1856.

Further, it was charged that Whitman, conspiring with W. S. Hughson, his clerk, E. A. Rowe and others to defraud the Treasury, did authorize the Treasurer to receive from county treasurers large amounts of State warrants in substitution for cash and bullion collected for the State. Also he was accused of willful neglect in permitting Hughson, in collusion with Rowe, to purchase for their use State warrants and other evidence of State indebtedness, and to substitute such for cash in the Treasury.

Several of the articles declared that Whitman had acted contrary to the 13th section of an act concerning the office of the Controller, passed January 19, 1850. This law made the Controller guilty of a misdemeanor in office if he should willfully neglect, or refuse to perform any duty enjoined by law, or knowingly do any not authorized by law, or in any other manner than prescribed by law.¹⁵

TRIAL BY THE SENATE

In preparation for the trial the Senate adopted rules of procedure in impeachment cases, and on March 9 organized as a High Court of Impeachment by the administration of the prescribed oath to the president, secretary and senators present. After proclamation by the sergeant-at-arms the Assembly managers and the defendant, with counsel, appeared at the bar of the Senate.¹⁶

Through counsel Whitman presented an answer to the articles of impeachment which was described by the *Bee* as "remarkable for its forcibleness of expression, clearness of style and manly dignity of tone."¹⁷ In reply to the first charge he declared that he had instructed Hughson and the other clerks to place all books and records at the disposal of the Board of Examiners but not to furnish information which it was required to obtain under the law. It was not the duty of the Controller or his clerks to make the examination of the books in his office; this was the legal responsibility of the Board. The statute only required him to "permit" the Board to make the inspection, and he had offered the Board every facility for the discharge of this duty. Denying that he had ever said that he would disregard the act and render it inoperative by offering violence to the Board, he avowed that the Board had always been respectfully treated by him and his clerks.

He said that he had never received a letter from the Governor,

dated May 14, 1856, now alleged to be mislaid or lost, but he admitted that Hughson had informed him of the Governor's demand upon his return from an absence from the office. It was impossible to compile the information requested owing to the failure of the Treasurer to furnish monthly reports to the Controller for April and May, 1856, as required by law. He had no personal knowledge of the existence or contents of the supposed letter addressed to him by the Governor on May 28, 1856, and he positively denied that any official communication from the Governor had remained unanswered.

Admitting the drawing of accounts in favor of the State Prison Lessee, Whitman insisted that he considered the payments in the nature of a salary due monthly for a period of five years under the State Prison contract. In drawing such warrants he acted strictly within the terms of the contract and in accordance with his construction of the law.

Respondent explicitly denied all charges that he had combined with Hughson and Rowe to defraud the State by substituting Controller's warrants for moneys and bullion collected for the State by county treasurers, and by authorizing the Treasurer to receive such warrants in place of cash. To the charge of neglect in supervision of his chief clerk, he said that Hughson had served during the entire term of his predecessor and was highly recommended by responsible persons. He had permitted Hughson to sign the Controller's name to orders authorizing the Treasurer to receive moneys from county treasurers. This had long been the practice in the office, as it was impossible for the Controller personally to perform all of the duties placed upon him.

Confident that he had committed no crime or misdemeanor or violation of the Constitution or laws of the State, and "confiding in the integrity, impartiality and independence of his judges, and that they will not be moved against him by the spirit of party, by popular prejudice, or political motives . . ." Whitman submitted his case to the Court. To proceed with the impeachment trial of Bates, the Court continued the Whitman trial until March 23.

At that time the Court heard the reply of the Assembly managers to Whitman's answer. Pleadings were completed the next day by the reading and filing of the rejoinder of the defendant to the replication of the Assembly.¹⁸

With the president *pro tempore* presiding on March 23, defense counsel protested that the Court had no right to appoint any presiding officer other than the president of the Senate. Several senators being absent, counsel also argued that it was improper for senators

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who had not been present and heard the evidence to sit as judges on the case. The Court voted that any of its members might preside. By motion it was decided that a quorum alone was required, and by implication, that a senator who did not hear the testimony would be entitled to vote on the final judgment.¹⁹

Taking of testimony continued for several weeks with frequent postponements caused by the inability of the prosecution to produce necessary witnesses. W. S. Hughson reportedly had fled the State. William Willis, another clerk in the Controller's office wanted as a witness, was missing. Despite advertisements in newspapers and a reward of \$500 for his apprehension, authorized by concurrent resolution of the Senate and Assembly, he could not be found. There was no difficulty in locating E. A. Rowe, former clerk in the Treasurer's office, whom the Assembly managers wished to question regarding the complicity of Whitman with Hughson and himself in the substitution of Controller's warrants for cash in the Treasury. For his defiance of the grand jury, the courts, and legislative committees investigating the conduct of Treasurer Bates, he was arrested for contempt and confined in the jail of Sacramento County.²⁰

The Court later ordered the sheriff to produce Rowe. Pleading illness, Rowe sought to avoid appearance but was finally brought into Court as a witness for the State on March 30. He was refused permission to have his counsel present and was required to testify under a new law compelling witnesses to give testimony before legislative bodies.²¹ Some questions were answered but objections of defense counsel to other questions regarding his activities in the Treasury were sustained by the Court. The Assembly managers protested the ruling of the Court which prevented full examination of Rowe and asked that he be recalled for further questioning. This motion was overruled by the Court.

On April 17 evidence was finally closed. Arguments of counsel being concluded, the Court on April 21 went into secret session to vote upon the articles of impeachment. On articles one and five the verdict of acquittal was unanimous; on articles three, four, and seven the vote was 21 to 6 against sustaining the charges; and on articles two and six the Court voted not guilty by votes of 25 to 2 and 22 to 4 respectively. A motion to censure Whitman for neglect and failure to give information to the Board of Examiners was rejected by a vote of 22 to 5. Then the resolution of the Court declaring Whitman acquitted of the charges was adopted by a vote of 25 to 2. In open Court the defendant was called and the judgment was announced.²²

Thus concluded a trial which the *Union* described as tedious,

monotonous, exciting little interest, and presenting no "imposing features."²³ The closing scene, when Whitman was called to hear the judgment of the Court, was thus described by the *San Francisco Bulletin*: "He was evidently much agitated, but struggling hard to appear composed."

After the secretary read the judgment of acquittal,

A murmur ran through the Court and the spectators assembled, and all eyes were turned upon Whitman, who drew a handkerchief across his face to wipe away the perspiration, which in large drops had gathered on his brow, and perhaps a tear or two of joy which dimmed his eyes, as the disgrace and shame with which he had just before been threatened appeared to have vanished like a cloud from around him.²⁴

APPRAISAL OF THE TRIAL AND VERDICT

There was general agreement among newspapers that the trial had been fair and impartial, had caused great expense to the State and had consumed much of the time of the Legislature. While approving the verdict of acquittal, the editors remarked that Whitman was too sensitive about the passage of the law creating a Board of Examiners, and had exhibited a stubborn, discourteous and unco-operative attitude toward the Board. He had been somewhat negligent in the supervision of his clerks and mistaken in his interpretation of the laws regarding his office. But he had not willfully violated the law and was not motivated by any criminal intent.

Expressing astonishment that a constitutional official should be impeached on such flimsy evidence, the *Union* declared: "Had Col. Whitman belonged to the dominant party in the Legislature, it is our firm conviction that he would not have been even lightly censured. But an epidemic for impeachment prevailed; one victim had been found, another was sought in Col. Whitman. He was made to walk upon the heated plowshare of a political prosecution, and he has passed the fiery ordeal untouched in character and reputation."²⁵ To the *Bee* also it seemed "somewhat singular that the Assembly should have resolved to impeach him upon such slender grounds."²⁶

Both Sacramento papers were critical of the Board of Examiners. The *Bee* thought that if the Controller had violated the law, so had the Board of Examiners, which had not made a monthly count of the moneys in the Treasury, as required by law. "The Board of Examiners as fully deserved impeachment as ever did the Controller."²⁷ Similarly the *Union* remarked that the two impeachment cases might have been avoided if the Board had shown more vigor and determination in making the Treasury count and reporting to the public.²⁸

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The *Democratic State Journal* congratulated Whitman on his acquittal and continued: "The investigation of the charges against Col. Whitman have been of a most thoroughly searching and vexatious character, and they occurred at a time, too, of great popular excitement, when in the mind there existed a belief in the criminality of all public officers."²⁹

To the San Francisco *Bulletin* the chief results of the two impeachment trials were (1) a check to the increasing corruption of the public service through the disgrace of the Treasurer, and (2) an assurance from the impartial conduct of the Controller's case that only those clearly guilty need fear conviction. "It would have been well for the State, if these impeachment cases had been of earlier occurrence, for that there was a much earlier necessity for them than has been afforded by the present State Government, few will deny."³⁰

COMPARISON OF BATES AND WHITMAN CASES

Bates refused to answer the charges before the High Court of Impeachment on the technical legal argument that he had resigned before he was impeached by the Assembly. The Court rejected his plea and ordered him to answer. When he still refused, judgment of disqualification was pronounced against him by the Court. Whitman made a determined defense and was acquitted on all charges by a large majority.

The impeachment trial of Bates was the first in California. It was of brief duration due to his refusal to answer to the merit of the charges. Whitman's trial was the first contested case; it covered several weeks and resulted in the vindication of the Controller. The press generally thought that the resignation of Bates was an admission of guilt, though it had some sympathy for his plight. He was the dupe of his absconding chief clerk, as was also Whitman to a lesser degree. From the beginning of the Whitman investigation the press was convinced that the charges against him did not justify impeachment and it applauded his acquittal.

Some differences in impeachment procedure in the two trials may be noted. The Senate took jurisdiction in the Bates case when it was informed that the Assembly had adopted an impeachment resolution, and did not wait for the presentation of the articles of impeachment. This prompt action was undoubtedly designed to forestall the attempt of Bates to escape trial by resignation. In the Whitman case the Senate did not accept jurisdiction until the articles of impeachment were received from the Assembly. When Bates sent his resignation to the Governor it was immediately ac-

cepted and the nomination of a successor was sent to the Senate. Whitman was suspended when he was impeached and a temporary appointment was made, pending the outcome of the trial.

CONCLUSION

Restored to office after his acquittal, Whitman was a candidate for re-election on September 2, 1857. His Democratic opponent, J. W. Mandeville, received the highest vote. After the election Mandeville accepted the office of Surveyor General for California under appointment by the President of the United States. He never qualified or claimed the office of Controller.³¹

Declaring that Mandeville's failure to qualify as Controller had created a vacancy in that office, Governor Weller, on January 21, 1858, nominated Samuel H. Brooks to the office. The Senate declined to confirm and the nomination was withdrawn by the Governor. The nomination of A. R. Meloney was confirmed on February 4 by the Senate. Because of some doubts as to the regularity of the nomination the Governor again submitted Meloney's appointment and it was a second time approved by the Senate on April 26.³²

Whitman, however, refused to vacate the office on demand of Meloney, contending that he could hold the office until his successor was elected and qualified. Meloney sued and the district court of Sacramento County upheld his right to the office. On appeal the Supreme Court held that defendant Whitman was entitled to hold the office until his successor was elected and qualified.³³ Meloney was elected on September 1, 1858, and took office on October 12, 1858.

NOTES

1. Frank M. Stewart, "California's First Impeachment, 1857," *The Historical Society of Southern California* QUARTERLY, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 328-339 (1957).
2. *Hutchings' Illustrated California Magazine*, v. 2, March, 1858, p. 390; *Memorial and Biographical History of Northern California* (Chicago, 1891), p. 701; *California Blue Book*, 1909, p. 673.
3. *Assembly Journal*, 8th sess., 1857, pp. 135, 309-311; *Senate Journal*, 8th sess., 1857, pp. 113, 239-241.
4. *Assembly Journal*, 8th sess., 1857, p. 149-150, 206-208.
5. *Ibid.*, 8th sess., 1857, pp. 214-215.
6. *Ibid.*, 8th sess., 1857, pp. 238-239.
7. *Ibid.*, 8th sess., 1857, pp. 295-303; *Senate Journal*, 8th sess., 1857, pp. 242-252.
8. *Assembly Journal*, 8th sess., 1857, pp. 253, 307-308, 313, 318-320.
9. *Senate Journal*, 8th sess., 1857, pp. 268-269.
10. *Ibid.*, 8th sess., 1857, pp. 340-346; *Assembly Journal*, 8th sess., 1857, pp. 374-380.
11. *Senate Journal*, 8th sess., 1857, pp. 347-348.
12. *Cal. Stats.*, 1856, pp. 100-101.

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13. See First and Second Reports of the Special Committee in *Appendix to Assembly Journals*, 8th sess., 1857.
14. *Constitution of 1849*, Art. V., sec. 6.
15. *Cal. Stats.*, 1848-50, pp. 47-48.
16. *Senate Journal*, 8th sess., 1857, pp. 313-316, 370, 378, 404-405, 437-438.
17. *Ibid.*, 8th sess., 1857, pp. 438-447; *Sacramento Bee*, March 10, 1857.
18. *Senate Journal*, 8th sess., 1857, pp. 447, 544-545, 552.
19. *Ibid.*, 8th sess., 1857, pp. 543, 545-546; *Sacramento Union*, March 24, 1857.
20. *Senate Journal*, 8th sess., 1857, pp. 552-553, 559-560, 568-570, 577-579, 584-585, 595-597, 601-602, 609-610, 614-616, 629, 636, 664, 700-702, 722; *Sacramento Union*, Feb.-April, 1857; *Sacramento Bee*, Feb.-April, 1857; *Assembly Journal*, 8th sess., 1857, pp. 625, 666.
21. *Cal. Stats.*, 1857, pp. 97-98; *Sacramento Union*, March 31, 1857.
22. *Senate Journal*, 8th sess., 1857, pp. 722-723, 729, 735, 743-748.
23. *Sacramento Union*, April 7, 16, 22, 1857.
24. *San Francisco Bulletin*, April 23, 1857.
25. *Sacramento Union*, April 22, 1857.
26. *Sacramento Bee*, April 22, 1857.
27. *Ibid.*, Feb. 7, 26, April 22, 1857.
28. *Sacramento Union*, Feb. 25, 1857.
29. *Democratic State Journal*, April 22, 1857.
30. *San Francisco Bulletin*, April 23, 1857.
31. *California Blue Book*, 1909, p. 673; 1913-1915, p. 440.
32. *Senate Journal*, 9th sess., 1858, pp. 119, 129, 132, 164-165, 692, 693.
33. *People ex rel. Meloney v. Whitman*, 10 Cal. Reports, pp. 38-49 (July term, 1858).

A Pueblo de los Angeles Memoir . . .

GROUP PRESSURE

Submitted by MARGARET ROMER

In the winter of 1879-1880 there was still no pavement in Los Angeles. The streets were ankle-deep with dust in summer and even deeper in water puddles and mud after rains in winter. Citizens had complained to the City Council for years, but with no results.

That winter a group organized anonymously — and humorously. One morning after a heavy rain, there appeared on the principal downtown streets many small mounds resembling new graves. Each had on it an imitation tombstone bearing various inscriptions such as:

BEWARE OF QUICKSAND!

FARE FOR FERRYING ACROSS — 25 cts.

NO DUCK HUNTING ALLOWED IN THIS POND

BOATS LEAVE THIS LANDING EVERY HALF HOUR

This good natured stunt accomplished what all the previous complaints had failed to do. The first street paving was laid that summer on North Main Street.

Reference: *Sixty Years in Southern California*, Reminiscences of Harris Newmark, Edited by Maurice H. and Marco R. Newmark (Third Edition). Houghton Mifflin Co., Riverside Press, Cambridge, 1930. Page 584.


The Los Angeles Padron of 1844

As Copied from the LOS ANGELES CITY ARCHIVES

and Edited by

Marie E. Northrop

EDITOR'S NOTE: The *Los Angeles Padron of 1844*, carefully edited by Mrs. Marie E. Northrop and subsequently read by Mr. Thomas Workman Temple II, is intended to be a practical working copy of the original for the use of researchers in early Los Angeles history. It lays no claim to absolute identity with the original, because any attempt at a truly diplomatic edition would have made it very difficult to use.

HE 1844 MEXICAN PADRON (census) of Los Angeles and "su Jurisdicción," is an important and an historical document. This heretofore unpublished record helps to increase the value of the first United States Federal Census that was taken of Los Angeles in 1850-51, by John R. Evertsen. It was published by Maurice H. and Marco R. Newmark in 1929.

This padron bridges the gap in the records between the 1836 Mexican padron which was published in Vol. XVIII, No. 3-4 of the *Historical Society of Southern California* QUARTERLY (dated September-December, 1936) and the 1850 census. Any such document or list is of historical value and must be preserved and should be published for study and reference, in order to promote a better knowledge and understanding of Los Angeles and the surrounding area. It is somewhat amusing to note that the 1836 and the 1844 padrons are bound together as "Vol. 3½" in the Los Angeles City Archives. It is the continuation of Volume 3 of the Archives and for some unknown reason, is labeled "School Census, 1834-1844". These records are housed in the vault of the City Clerk's Office at Los Angeles City Hall.

Many Los Angeles and California families can be traced from the 1781 Los Angeles record gathered by Thomas Workman Temple, II, (published in the *Historical Society of Southern California* ANNUAL, Vol. XV, No. 1 (dated 1931); the 1790 Spanish padron of Los Angeles, and various documents such as garrison lists enumerating able-bodied men for military purposes, tax and tithe lists, and various padrons.

The Los Angeles Padron of 1844

This 1844 padron, instead of being photographically reproduced, as was the padron of 1836, is being letterpress printed for the sake of convenience and easier reading. An earnest effort has been made to print this padron as nearly to the original as possible. Even very obvious errors are retained to keep it an exact copy, such as the transposing of "Sasalar" for "Salazar." The listing of Roque Valenzuela (see Archives Reference page 752) was listed as both "Mujeres" (spelled "Mugeres" in the Archives) and "Niños" has been edited to show that he was an adult male. The recording of Francisco Limon (see Archives Reference page 739) as "Viuda" (widow) obviously was meant for Juana Ontiveros on the line above.

The reader should keep in mind the customary variations in spelling such as the inter-changeable usage of "B" and "V"; "I," "H," or "Y"; "LL" and "Y"; "C" and "S"; "U" and "O," etc. One must also remember, as in many such records, phonetic spelling is sometimes used. For example, there is "Trugio" for "Trujillo," "Ernandez" for "Hernandes," "Yguera" for "Higuera," "Yonson" for "Johnson," and such names as Trinidad, Soledad and Merced drop the final "d" so they appear as "Trinda" (or might even be "Trenida"), "Soleda" and "Merce." About the most interesting of these is "José Rais" or "Raiz" for "Joseph Rice."

Some of the abbreviations are the usual "Ma." for María; "Franco." for Francisco; "Franca." for Francisca; "Ygno." for Ygnacio; "Ygna." for Ygnacia; "Anto." for Antonio; "Anta." for Antonia; "Bta." for Bautista; etc. Another abbreviation used in this record is "id" for "idem" meaning "the same." In this case, it takes the place of the ditto marks commonly used today. The dash marks in this record indicate that no entry was made in the original.

"Huérfano," meaning orphan, has a variety of spellings, such as "Buérfano" or "Vuérfano." It sometimes is confused with being a surname in the padron.

An interesting fact of the padron is that Abel Stearns and his wife, Arcadia Bandini, are registered in two places, once on page 760 and again on page 769.

Under the heading of "Natural de" (native of) the information is fairly reliable. However, discrepancies are found in a few entries when comparing their birthplaces stated in other records that are generally considered more accurate. It is interesting to note that Perfecto Hugo Reid (Archives Reference page 780) is "Escocés" (a Scot). He is listed as "casado" — "married," and is

with Carlos, his adopted son, but there is no entry for his wife. Victoria Bartolomea Comicrabit, the full name of Reid's Indian wife, was either absent when the census was taken or she was enumerated with the 650 Indians entered at the end of the census. Because they had no surnames, it is difficult to identify one Indian from another and impossible to establish relationship from a census record. For this reason, the "Indios" entries have not been printed in this publication.

In the "*Observación*" column there was just one group of entries and that was at the beginning of the padron:

C. *significa Casado* (meaning married).

L. *significa Labrador* (meaning laborer).

*N. *significa Vago o de Ninguna Profesión* (meaning vagabond or no profession).

P. *significa Propietario* (meaning proprietor or landowner).

S. *significa Soltero* (meaning unmarried).

V. *significa Viudo* (meaning widow or widower).

*The PADRON OF 1844 is printed on the next fifty-four pages.
A SURNAME INDEX follows the PADRON, beginning on page 415.*

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<i>Nombres</i>	<i>Edad</i>	<i>Residencia</i>	<i>Profesión</i>	<i>Natural de</i>	<i>Estado</i>	<i>Hombres</i>	<i>Mujeres</i>	<i>Niños</i>
C. José Ma. Ybarra.....	28	Angeles	Labrador	Angeles	Casado	1	—	—
Guadalupe Romero.....	30	id	—	id	id	—	1	—
Ma. Concepción Ybarra.....	6	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
José Valentín Ybarra.....	5	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
J. de los Reyes Ybarra.....	3	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
4 ms.								
Maria Timotea Ybarra.....	4 ms.	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Seferina Rosas.....	60	id	—	id	—	—	1	—
Anastacio Avila.....	70	Angeles	L.P.	Sinaloa	Casado	1	—	—
Juana Ballesteros.....	50	id	—	Angeles	id	—	1	—
Enrique Avila.....	26	id	Campista	id	Soltero	1	—	—
José Ma. Avila.....	25	id	id	id	id	1	—	—
Manuela Avila.....	22	id	—	id	id	—	1	—
Ma. Cruz Avila.....	20	id	—	id	id	—	1	—
Ma. Isidora Avila.....	14	id	—	id	id	—	1	—
Antonio Avila.....	12	id	L.	id	id	1	—	—
Felipe Avila.....	10	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Cornelio Avila.....	9	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Juan Avila.....	8	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Rafaela Avila.....	3	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Ma. Refugio Avila.....	2	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Mariano Alvarado.....	26	id	L.	Angeles	Casado	1	—	—
Soleda Avila.....	21	id	—	id	id	—	1	—
4 meses								
Soleda Albarado.....	39	id	L.	id	V.	1	—	—
Martin Duarte.....	14	id	id	id	S.	1	—	—
Rafael Duarte.....	13	id	id	id	S.	1	—	—
Florencio Duarte.....	11	id	id	id	—	—	—	—
Andrés Duarte.....	9	id	id	id	—	—	—	1
Ma. Dolores Duarte.....	7	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Soleda Duarte.....	5	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Quirina Duarte.....	3	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Calletano Duarte.....	44	id	Sigarrero	id	—	—	—	1
Albino Cristan.....	24	Angeles	—	S. Luis Potocí	C.	1	—	—
Jacoba Canedo.....	11	id	—	Angeles	id	1	1	—
Gabriel Cristan.....	9	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Saturnina Cristan.....	7	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Juan Cristan.....	5	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Refugio Cristan.....			—		—	—	—	

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Nombres	Edad	Residencia	Profesión	Natural de	Estado	Hombres	Mujeres	Niños
Isabel Abila.....	35	Angeles	—	Angeles	Casada	—	1	—
Guadalupe Alvarado.....	17	id	—	id	Soltera	—	1	—
José Alvarado.....	15	id	Labrador	id	id	1	—	—
José Migl. Alvarado.....	12	id	id	id	id	—	—	—
Ma. Avila.....	8	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Ma. Reyes Avila.....	7	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Ma. Rosario Avila.....	5	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
José de la Luz Avila.....	2	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Franca. Avila.....	1	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Hilario Garcia.....	51	Angeles	Zapatero	id	C.	1	—	—
Felipa Ontiberos.....	46	id	—	id	id	—	1	—
Franco. Garcia.....	12	id	—	id	id	1	—	—
Anta. Rubio.....	30	id	—	id	S.	—	1	—
Jesús Rubio.....	12	id	—	id	—	1	—	—
José Rubio.....	8	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Pío Rubio.....	5	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Petra Rubio.....	1	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
José Antonio Tapia.....	46	id	*N*	id	V.	1	—	—
Ma. Anta. Tapia.....	19	id	—	id	S.	—	1	—
Franco. Tapia.....	17	id	L.	id	id	1	—	—
Ma. Jesús Tapia.....	15	id	—	id	id	—	1	—
Pilar Tapia.....	12	id	id	id	id	1	—	—
José Anto. Tapia.....	10	id	—	id	id	—	—	—
Mariano Tapia.....	8	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Jabier Tapia.....	6	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Candelaria Tapia.....	5	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Ramona Tapia.....	1	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Agustín Tapia.....	22	id	—	id	C.	1	—	—
Ma. Jesús Barelas.....	30	id	*N.*	id	id	—	1	—
Vicente Lorensana.....	50	id	L.	id	V.	1	—	—
Pilar Lorensana.....	24	id	—	id	S.	—	1	—
Ramón Lorensana.....	6	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Ma. de la Luz Lorensana.....	4	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
José Lorensana.....	1	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Niebes Vustamante.....	25	id	—	id	C.	—	1	—
Juan Vustamante.....	4	id	—	id	—	—	—	1

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<i>Nombres</i>	<i>Edad</i>	<i>Residencia</i>	<i>Profesión</i>	<i>Natural de</i>	<i>Estado</i>	<i>Hombres</i>	<i>Mujeres</i>	<i>Niños</i>
Concepción Vustamte.....	1	Angeles	—	Angeles	—	—	—	1
Juan Ribas.....	35	id	Sastre	Colombia	C.	1	—	—
Ramón Ybarra.....	34	id	L.	Angeles	id	1	—	—
Pilar Romero.....	24	id	—	id	id	—	1	—
Franco, Ibarra.....	5	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
María Ibarra.....	4	id	—	—	—	—	—	1
Encarnación Ibarra.....	3	id	—	—	S.	—	—	1
Desiderio Ibarra.....	59	id	L.P.	S. Diego	C.	1	—	—
Baleriana Lorensana.....	57	id	—	Méjico	id	—	1	—
Felipe Ybarra.....	26	id	L.	Angeles	S.	1	—	—
Hilario Ybarra.....	25	id	id	id	id	1	—	—
Gerónimo Ybarra.....	24	id	id	id	id	1	—	—
Pedro Ybarra.....	24	id	id	id	id	1	—	—
Luis Ybarra.....	17	id	id	id	id	1	—	—
Desiderio Vegil.....	22	id	L.	id	S.	1	—	—
José Quintana.....	25	id	id	N. Méjico	—	—	—	—
José Ma. Oroscó.....	28	id	id	N. Méjico	S.	1	—	—
José Ma. Barreras.....	30	id	Zapatero	Sur	V.	1	—	—
Franca. Farías.....	26	id	L.P.	S. Diego	C.	1	—	—
José Barreras.....	4	id	—	Angeles	id	—	1	—
Concepción Barreras.....	2	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Julián Barreras.....	1	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Seberiano Ibarra.....	34	id	L.	id	C.	1	—	—
Emiliana Valenzuela.....	25	id	—	id	id	—	1	—
Pedro Ybarra.....	7	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Ynocente Ybarra.....	5	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Ma. de Jesús Ybarra.....	2	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Ramón de León.....	49	id	—	id	C.	1	—	—
Celedonia Farías.....	18	id	Sombrerero	Manila	id	—	1	—
Rita Ruiz.....	7	id	—	Angeles	id	—	—	1
Gregorio de León.....	2	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Agapito Ramirez.....	35	Angeles	Sombrerero	id	—	—	—	—
Manuel Romero.....	36	id	L.	Sn. Luis Potici	S.	1	—	—
Ma. Elisalde.....	35	id	—	Angeles	C.	1	—	—
Niebes Romero.....	8	id	—	id	id	—	1	—
Concepción Romero.....	6	id	—	—	—	—	—	1

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Nombres	Edad	Residencia	Profesión	Natural de	Estado	Hombres	Mujeres	Niños
Susana Romero.....	4	Angeles	—	Angeles	—	—	—	1
Francisca Romero.....	6 meses	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Juana Alvarado.....	40	id	—	id	V.	—	1	—
Francisca Silbas.....	17	id	—	id	S.	—	1	—
Maria Antonia Silbas.....	16	id	—	id	id	—	1	—
Maria Tomasa Silbas.....	4	id	—	id	—	1	—	1
Esteban Silbas.....	12	id	—	id	—	—	—	—
Ramon Silbas.....	8	id	—	id	—	—	—	—
Rafael Salgado.....	56	id	Albañil	Sonora	C.	1	—	—
José Ma. Alvares.....	26	id	Zapatero	Vaja Califa.	id	1	—	—
Ma. Hilaria Rendon.....	24	id	—	Angeles	id	—	—	—
Juana Rendon.....	38	id	—	id	V.	—	1	—
Andrea Elizalde.....	12	id	—	id	S.	—	1	—
Ma. de los Angeles Elizalde.....	9	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Tiburcio Tapia.....	54	Angeles	L.P.	id	C.	1	—	—
Tomasa Valdez.....	23	id	—	id	id	—	1	—
Merce Tapia.....	9	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
José de la Cruz Tapia.....	5	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Ramón Duarte.....	15	id	L.	id	S.	1	—	—
Presentación Duarte.....	14	id	—	—	id	—	1	—
José Sotelo.....	35	id	L.	id	C.	1	—	—
Matilde Romero.....	30	id	Sirbiente	id	id	—	1	—
Vicente Sotelo.....	16	id	id	id	S.	1	—	—
Niebes Sotelo.....	14	id	—	id	id	—	1	—
Guadalupe Sotelo.....	12	id	—	id	id	—	1	—
Candelaria Sotelo.....	10	id	—	id	id	—	1	—
Juan Sotelo.....	7	id	—	id	id	—	—	1
Juan Ebangelista Sotelo.....	5	id	—	id	id	—	—	1
José Ramón Sotelo.....	8 meses	id	—	id	id	—	—	1
Mariano Roldán.....	44	Angeles	—	Méjico	Casado	1	—	—
Simona López Misto.....	42	id	—	S. Juan Capno.	id	—	1	—
Onorato id.....	20	id	Sirbiente	id	S.	1	—	—
Luisa id.....	10	id	—	id	—	—	1	—
Victoria id.....	5	id	—	—	—	—	1	—
Felicita Mista.....	15	id	—	id	—	—	1	—
José María Aguilar.....	69	id	L.P.	Culiacan	Casado	1	—	—
Christobal Aguilar.....	30	id	id	Angeles	Soltero	1	—	—

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Nombres	Edad	Residencia	Profesión	Natural de	Estado	Hombres	Mujeres	Niños
Ma. Ignacia Elizalde.....	42	Angeles	—	Angeles	Casada	—	1	—
Dolores Ignera.....	26	id	Serviente	id	id	1	—	—
Viviana, India.....	20	id	—	id	id	—	1	—
Doroteo Canedo.....	25	id	Serviente	Sn. Juan Capno.	S.	1	—	—
José Serradela.....	30	id	id	Portugués	C.	1	—	—
Crusana Albitre.....	14	id	—	Angeles	id	—	1	—
Reimundo Alanis.....	26	id	L.	id	C.	1	—	—
Ma. Anta. Sánchez.....	16	id	—	id	id	—	1	—
Hilario Machado.....	60	id	P.L.	Angeles	C.	1	—	—
Ma. Ant. Pollorena.....	42	id	—	id	id	—	1	—
Joaquina Machado.....	20	id	—	id	Soltera	—	1	—
Joaquín Machado.....	18	id	L.	id	id	1	—	—
Rosalía Ochoa.....	70	id	—	Vaja Califa.	Viuda	—	1	—
Franca, Olivera.....	7	id	—	Angeles	—	—	—	1
Ma. del Rosario Olivera.....	6 meses	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Miguel Valenzuela.....	60	id	L.	id	C.	1	—	—
Visitación Rodríguez.....	50	id	—	id	id	—	1	—
Felipe Valenzuela.....	27	id	L.	id	Soltero	1	—	—
Pedro Valenzuela.....	22	id	id	id	id	1	—	—
Juana Valenzuela.....	18	id	—	id	id	—	1	—
Pedro Regaldo Valenzuela.....	14	id	id	id	id	1	—	—
Ma. Valenzuela.....	12	id	—	id	—	—	1	—
Juan B. Valenzuela.....	10	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Martín Valenzuela.....	8	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
José Anto. Valenzuela.....	3	id	—	—	—	—	—	1
José Altamirano.....	25	Angeles	Sastre	Pueblo de S. José	Casado	1	—	—
Luisa Valenzuela.....	20	id	—	Angeles	id	—	1	—
José D. Altamirano.....	6 meses	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Encarnación Vuerna.....	33	id	—	id	S.	—	1	—
Dolores Vuerna.....	11	id	—	id	id	—	1	—
Manuela Vuerna.....	9	id	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ma. Dolores Vuerna.....	8	id	—	—	—	—	—	1
Lugarda Vuerna.....	7	id	—	—	—	—	—	1
Juan B. Vuerna.....	3	id	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ma. del Refugio Vuerna.....	18	id	—	—	—	—	1	—
Benedita Sains.....	60	id	—	—	—	—	—	—
José de Jesús Garnica.....	11	id	—	Pueblo de S. José	Viuda	1	—	—
			—	Angeles	—	—	—	—

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Nombres	Edad	Residencia	Profeción	Natural de	Estado	Hombres	Mujeres	Niños
Ignacio Palomares.....	32	Angeles	L.P.	Angeles	Casado	1	—	—
Concepción Lopes.....	26	id	—	id	id	—	1	—
Luis Palomares.....	10	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
José Tomás Palomares.....	8	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Teresa Palomares.....	6	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Francisca Palomares.....	4	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
José Manuel Palomares.....	1	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Josefa Ortis.....	11	id	—	id	—	—	1	—
Juan Errández.....	40	id	Sirviente	Masatlan	Soltero	1	—	—
José María Fariás.....	55	Angeles	L.P.	Concepn. de Penco	Casado	1	—	—
Cesaria Manriques.....	38	id	—	Angeles	id	—	1	—
Domingo Fariás.....	7	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Vicente Elisalde.....	30	Angeles	Zapatero	id	C.	1	—	—
Dolores Ruiz.....	16	id	—	id	id	—	1	—
José Dolores Elisalde.....	3	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Susana Elisalde.....	1	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Dolores Lugo.....	50	id	—	id	Viuda	—	1	—
Matilda Trugio.....	24	id	—	id	V.	—	—	—
Casilda Sepúlveda.....	19	id	—	Nuevo Méjico	Soltera	—	1	—
Manuel Sepúlveda.....	16	id	L.	Angeles	id	1	—	—
Pedro Sepúlveda.....	12	id	id	id	id	1	—	—
Ma. de los Santos Sepúlveda.....	8	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Vicente Sepúlveda.....	7	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Matea Sepúlveda.....	4	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Ma. Dominga Sepúlveda.....	2	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Dolores Sepúlveda.....	31	id	L.	id	C.	1	—	—
Ma. Josefa Ruiz.....	15	id	—	id	id	—	1	—
Ma. Hilaria Vuenavides.....	30	id	—	id	Viuda	—	1	—
Agustín Vuenavides.....	11	id	—	id	S.	1	—	—
Juana Vuenavides.....	4	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Domingo Olivas.....	42	id	L.P.	Angeles	C.	1	—	—
Niebes Silbas.....	28	id	—	id	id	—	1	—
José de Gracia Olibas.....	11	id	L.	id	S.	1	—	—
Ma. Soleda Olibas.....	8	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Ma. Antonia Olibas.....	6	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Ma. Ramona Olibas.....	1	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Ma. Antonia Duarte.....	50	id	—	id	V.	—	1	—
Dolores Silbas.....	26	id	—	id	S.	—	1	—

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<i>Nombres</i>	<i>Edad</i>	<i>Residencia</i>	<i>Profeción</i>	<i>Natural de</i>	<i>Estado</i>	<i>Hombres</i>	<i>Mugeres</i>	<i>Niños</i>
Ma. Felipa Silbas.....	6	Angeles	—	Angeles	—	—	—	1
José Silbas.....	3	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Ma. Manuela Silbas.....	1	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Nicolás Olibas.....	46	id	L.P.	id	Casado	1	—	—
Juana Ibarra.....	36	id	—	id	id	—	1	—
Franca. Olibas.....	15	id	L.	id	S.	1	—	—
Nicolasa Olibas.....	7	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
José Anto. Olibas.....	3	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Ma. de los Angs. Olibas.....	5	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Remigio Olibas.....	4 meses	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Juana Ontiveros.....	84	Angeles	—	id	Viuda	—	1	—
Franco. Limon.....	28	Angeles	L.	Sinaloa	Soltero	1	—	—
José Geraldo.....	35	id	L.	Sonora	—	1	—	—
Anastacio Ruiz.....	30	id	Sirviente	Vaja Calif.	id	1	—	—
Felipe Peralta.....	30	id	id	Angls.	S.	1	—	—
Viviana Lara.....	30	id	—	—	—	—	1	—
Vicente Lisalde.....	9	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Mariano Dominguez.....	66	Angeles	L.	Angeles	—	1	—	—
Benancia Sotelo.....	52	id	—	S. Diego	C.	—	1	—
Josefa Dominguez.....	34	id	—	Angeles	id	—	1	—
Roberto Dominguez.....	20	id	L.	id	Soltero	1	—	—
Vicente Dominguez.....	18	id	id	id	id	1	—	—
Justo Dominguez.....	16	id	id	id	id	1	—	—
Pedro Dominguez.....	14	id	id	id	id	1	—	—
Francisca Dominguez.....	12	id	id	id	id	—	1	—
José Dominguez.....	10	id	id	id	—	1	—	—
Juan Dominguez.....	8	id	id	id	—	—	—	1
Ma. Dominguez.....	7	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Dolores Dominguez.....	4	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
José Antonio Dominguez.....	2	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Gabriela Silbas.....	86	id	—	Sinaloa	Viuda	—	1	—
Manuela Villa.....	24	id	—	Angeles	Soltera	—	1	—
Antonia Domingz.....	25	id	—	id	Casada	—	1	—
Vicente Moraga.....	35	id	Escribano	id	id	1	—	—
Jubentino Moraga.....	4	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Romaldo Moraga.....	2	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Concepción Navarro.....	33	id	—	Angeles	Soltera	—	1	—
Ignacio Navarro.....	12	id	Sirbiente	id	id	1	—	—

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Nombres	Edad	Residencia	Profesión	Natural de	Estado	Hombres	Mugeres	Niños
Juan Nabarro.....	10	Angeles	—	Angeles	—	—	—	1
Ma. Nabarro.....	8	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Leonor Nabarro.....	6	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Encarnación Sepúlveda.....	40	id	—	Angeles	Viuda	—	—	—
Franca. Avila.....	13	id	—	id	S.	—	1	—
María Lobo.....	74	Angeles	—	Sinaloa	V.	—	1	—
Lugarda Silbas.....	8	id	—	—	—	—	—	1
Juan José Nieto.....	65	id	—	Angeles	C.	1	—	—
Tomasa Tapia.....	55	id	—	id	id	—	1	—
Juana Ma. Nieto.....	11	id	—	id	—	—	—	—
Fernanda Tapia.....	49	id	—	id	C.	—	1	—
Dominga Pollorena.....	14	Angeles	—	Angeles	S.	—	1	—
Juan Sepúlveda.....	29	id	Propietario	Angeles	C.	1	—	—
Felipa Alanis.....	24	id	—	id	id	—	1	—
Juana Ma. Sepúlveda.....	6	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Francisco Sepúlveda.....	4	id	—	id	—	—	1	—
Dolores Sepúlveda.....	2	id	—	id	—	1	—	—
Francisca Sepúlveda.....	10	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Eugenio Sepúlveda.....	12	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Ma. Figueroa.....	42	id	—	id	S. V.	—	—	1
Carlos Ballesteros.....	24	Angeles	L.P.	Angeles	S.	1	—	—
Franco. Ballesteros.....	22	id	id	id	id	1	—	—
Felipe Ballesteros.....	15	id	id	id	id	1	—	—
María Ballesteros.....	13	id	—	id	id	—	1	—
Gertrudis Ballesteros.....	11	id	—	id	id	—	1	—
Ramón Ballesteros.....	9	id	—	—	—	—	—	1
José de Jesús Ballesteros.....	7	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Teresa Ballesteros.....	5	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
María Refugio Ballesteros.....	6 meses	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Fruto Almenares.....	25	Angeles	Sirviente	Angeles	Soltero	1	—	—
Josefa Ballesteros.....	55	id	—	id	id	—	1	—
Juan de Dios Ballesteros.....	48	id	L.P.	id	id	1	—	—
Franisco Ballesteros.....	46	id	id	id	id	1	—	—
Román Ballesteros.....	36	id	id	id	id	1	—	—
Domingo Trugillo.....	20	id	Sirbiente	N. Méjico	S.	1	—	—
Matías Sabichi.....	44	Angeles	Comerciante	Italiano	C.	1	—	—
Josefa Coronel.....	27	id	—	Méjico	id	—	1	—

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Nombres	Edad	Residencia	Profesión	Natural de	Estado	Hombres	Mujeres	Niños
Matias Sabichi.....	2	Angeles	—	Angeles	—	—	—	1
Franco, Sabichi.....	8 meses	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Luisa Arguello.....	32	Angeles	—	S. Diego	V.	—	1	—
Luis A. Zamorano.....	14	id	Propietario	Sta. Bárva.	Soltero	1	—	—
Guadalupe Zamorano.....	12	id	—	Monterey	id	1	—	—
Ma. del Pilar Blanco.....	37	id	—	S. Diego	C.	—	1	—
Ma. Guadalupe Quintero.....	14	id	—	id	S.	—	1	—
Ma. Micaela Quintero.....	12	id	—	id	id	—	1	—
José Ignacio Quintero.....	9	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
José Dolores Quintero.....	9	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Gerónimo Quintero.....	5	id	—	—	—	—	—	1
Isidoro Quintero.....	3	id	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ma. Isabel Quintero.....	2	id	—	—	—	—	—	1
Luis Gonsaga.....	1	id	—	—	—	—	—	1
Franco, Crespín.....	42	id	Sapatero	—	—	1	—	—
Anto. Albitre.....	44	id	L.	N. Mejico	—	1	—	—
Concepción Amesti.....	37	id	—	Angeles	C.	—	—	—
Acención Albitre.....	16	id	—	Monterey	id	—	1	—
Ma. Petra Albitre.....	14	id	—	id	S.	—	1	—
Juan B. Albitre.....	13	id	—	id	id	1	—	—
Germán Albitre.....	10	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Vicente Albitre.....	9	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Eusebio Albitre.....	7	id	—	—	—	—	—	1
Felipe Albitre.....	5	id	—	—	—	—	—	1
Maria Carlota Albitre.....	4	id	—	—	—	—	—	1
José de Jesús Albitre.....	3	id	—	—	—	—	—	1
Cornelio López.....	52	Angeles	L.P.	Angeles	C.	1	—	—
Rafaela Romero.....	44	id	—	id	id	—	1	—
José de la Cruz López.....	18	id	L.	id	S.	1	—	—
Simplicio Valdez.....	24	id	id	id	C.	1	—	—
Andrea López.....	20	id	—	id	id	—	1	—
Anta, López.....	5	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Ma. de los Angeles López.....	3	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Ma. Refugio López.....	1	id	—	id	—	—	—	1
Masedonio Aguilar.....	30	Angeles	L.P.	id	C.	1	—	—

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Nombres	Edad	Residencia	Profesión	Natural de	Estado	Hombres	Mujeres	Niños
Rita Botiller.....	29	Angeles	—	Angeles id	Casada	—	1	—
Ma. Guadalupe Reyes.....	12	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
José Valencia.....	8	id	—	—	—	—	—	1
Pulqueria Olivares.....	40	id	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Marcelina Olivares.....	8	—	—	id	—	—	—	1
Pablo Cruz.....	40	Angeles	Sirviente	Méjico	S.	1	—	—
Marcelo Redona.....	35	—	Zapatero	Sur	V.	1	—	—
Domingo Romero.....	55	id	L.P.	Sta. Bárbara	C.	1	—	—
Franca. Feliz.....	35	—	—	Angeles	id	—	1	—
Joaquín Romero.....	19	—	L.	—	S.	1	—	—
Ramón Orduno.....	49	—	L.P.	—	C.	1	—	—
Asención Feliz.....	26	—	—	—	C.	—	1	—
Julio Orduno.....	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Franco. Orduno.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ma. Guadalupe Orduno.....	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ma. Ligrida Orduno.....	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Guadalupe Oribes.....	45	—	—	—	C.	—	1	—
Matías García.....	23	—	N.	S. Diego	S.	1	—	—
Felipe García.....	17	—	Tabernero	id	id	1	—	—
Marina García.....	14	—	—	id	id	—	1	—
Franco. García.....	12	—	—	id	id	1	—	—
Merce García.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Epitacio de Celis.....	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Miguel Verdugo.....	36	—	—	Sn. Diego	C.	1	—	—
Engracia García.....	31	—	Campista	id	id	—	1	—
Marina Verdugo.....	11	—	—	id	S.	—	1	—
Angustia Verdugo.....	7	—	—	id	—	—	—	1
Leonardo Verdugo.....	5	—	—	id	—	—	—	1
Andres Verdugo.....	6 meses	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
*Dolores Elizalde.....	57	—	—	Angeles	V.	—	1	—
*Josefa Urquidez.....	35	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
*Loreta Urquidez.....	33	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
*Ma. del Rosario Urquidez.....	32	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
Guillermo Urquidez.....	31	—	*N.*	—	S.	1	—	—
Juan Urquidez.....	23	—	L.	—	id	1	—	—
Antonio Urquidez.....	20	—	id	—	id	1	—	—

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Nombres	Edad	Residencia	Profeción	Natural de	Estado	Hombres	Mugeres	Niños
Juana Urquidez.....	19	—	—	—	Soltera	—	1	—
Florentina Urquidez.....	11	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
José Ignacio Urquidez.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
José de los Santos Urquidez.....	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Marcelina Iguera.....	15	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Esteban Villa.....	12	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
Ysidro Villa.....	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Manuela Altamirano.....	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ma. Ramona N.....	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Yrenio Pérez.....	47	—	Campista	—	C.	1	—	—
Vicenta Lugo.....	38	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
Andrea Pérez.....	17	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Maria Pérez.....	12	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
José Pérez.....	11	—	—	—	id	1	—	—
Yreneo Pérez.....	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
José Teodosio Pérez.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
José Timoteo Pérez.....	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
José Dolores Pérez.....	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ma. Modesta Pérez.....	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Vicenta Pérez.....	4 meses	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
José Bermúdez.....	25	—	Sirbiente	—	C.	1	—	—
Estéfana Soto.....	18	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
Gonsaga Zamorano.....	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Agustin Zamorano.....	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Josefa Zamorano.....	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Eulalia Zamorano.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Vicente Guerrero.....	30	—	Comerciante	—	C.	1	—	—
Ma. Dorotea Pesqueira.....	29	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
Franco Guerrero.....	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Isabel Guerrero.....	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
José Guerrero.....	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Juan B. Guerrero.....	5 meses	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
José Ruiz.....	39	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Isabel Oribes.....	35	—	Campista	—	C.	1	—	—
Ma. de los Angeles Ruiz.....	13	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
Ma. Refugio Ruiz.....	12	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Trinidad Ruiz.....	10	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—

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Nombres	Edad	Residencia	Profesión	Natural de	Estado	Hombres	Mujeres	Niños
Ramona Ruiz.....	9	Angeles	—	Angeles	—	—	—	1
Francisco Ruiz.....	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Juan B. Ruiz.....	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Guadalupe Ruiz.....	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Juan Apablaza.....	33	—	L.	Chile	C.	1	—	—
Maria Blanco.....	22	—	—	S. Diego	id	—	1	—
Juana Apablaza.....	6 meses	—	—	Angeles	—	—	—	1
Loreto Solorzano.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Pablo Rodriguez.....	64	—	—	Masatlan	V.	1	—	—
José Rodriguez.....	12	—	L.	Angeles	S.	1	—	—
Antonio Buelna.....	36	—	Platero	Sonora	C.	1	—	—
Ma. Valencia.....	22	—	—	Angeles	C.	—	1	—
Anita Buelna.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Antonio Buelna.....	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Agustina Avila.....	68	—	—	Fuerte	V.	—	1	—
Antonio Castro.....	13	—	—	Monterey	S.	1	—	—
Lugardo Aguila.....	48	—	L.	id	C.	1	—	—
Pascuala Garcia.....	32	—	—	Angeles	C.	—	1	—
Dolores Llegues (Jenkins).....	11	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Isabel Llegues.....	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Juan Llegues.....	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Maria Llegues.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Luis Altamirano.....	42	—	Campista	Monterey	—	1	—	—
Encarnación Mesa.....	39	—	—	id	C.	—	1	—
Abelino Altamirano.....	12	—	L.	Monterey	S.	1	—	—
José de la Cruz Altamirano.....	15	—	L.	id	id	1	—	—
Francisco Altamirano.....	3	—	—	Angeles	—	—	—	1
Ma. Francisca Altamirano.....	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Simón Odonaju.....	34	—	Sastre	Méjico	C.	—	1	—
Ma. Jesús Altamirano.....	28	—	—	Monterey	C.	—	—	—
Ma. Refugio Odonaju.....	2	—	—	Angeles	—	—	—	1
Niebes.....	9 meses	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Nepomuseno Baro.....	40	—	Sombrerero	Jalisco	—	—	—	—
Rafael Carabajal.....	37	—	Sastre	Chihuahua	S.	1	—	—
Marta Reyes.....	25	—	—	S. Diego	id	—	1	—
Juan Carabajal.....	4	—	—	Angeles	—	—	—	—
Antonio Carabajal.....	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Tremidad Carabajal.....	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1

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Nombres	Edad	Residencia	Profeción	Natural de	Estado	Hombres	Mujeres	Niños
José de Jesús Carabajal.....	5 meses	Angeles	—	Angeles	—	—	—	1
Gregoria Pico.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Francisco Figueroa.....	39	—	Comerciante	Méjico	C.	1	—	—
Ma. de Jesús Palomares.....	26	—	—	Angeles	id	—	1	—
Ma. Guadalupe Figueroa.....	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
José Figueroa.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Francisco Figueroa.....	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ma. de Jesús Figueroa.....	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Amada Figueroa.....	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
José Ignacio Aguilar.....	34	—	Sigarrero	—	—	—	—	—
Manuel López.....	47	—	Sirbiente	Portugal	C.	1	—	—
Teresa López.....	25	—	—	S. Blas	C.	1	1	—
Francisca Soto.....	45	—	—	Angeles	V.	—	1	—
Vicenta Ruiz.....	27	—	—	id	S.	—	1	—
Marcelina Ramírez.....	18	—	—	id	id	—	1	—
Vicente Ramírez.....	19	—	Sirbiente	—	S.	1	—	—
Rafaela Guirado.....	38	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Refugio Ramires.....	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Balentin Suniga.....	55	—	*N.*	—	—	1	—	—
Matilda Cota.....	61	—	—	—	V.	—	1	—
Guadalupe Rendon.....	30	—	L.	—	S.	1	—	—
Julián Rendon.....	25	—	L.	—	S.	1	—	—
Francisca Bera.....	12	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Antonio Bera.....	8	—	—	—	C.	1	—	—
Salvador Ignera.....	50	—	—	—	id	—	—	—
Juliana Soto.....	42	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Maria Yguera.....	16	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
Juliana Yguera.....	15	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Doroteo Yguera.....	14	—	L.	—	id	1	—	—
Atanacio Yguera.....	10	—	id	—	id	—	—	1
Perfecto Yguera.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Franco (Ilegítimo).....	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ylaria Ignera.....	8 meses	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bruno Avila.....	52	—	L.P.	Baja Cal.	C.	1	—	—
Balbina Duarte.....	32	—	—	Angeles	id	—	1	—
Santa Ana Avila.....	19	—	L.	—	S.	1	—	—
Francisco Avila.....	17	—	id	—	id	1	—	—
Ramona Avila.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Patricio Avila.....	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	1

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Nombres	Edad	Residencia	Profesión	Natural de	Estado	Hombres	Mujeres	Niños
Ma. Ysac Avila.....	4	Angeles	—	Angeles	—	—	—	1
Yrenio Avila.....	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Samuel Carpintero.....	32	—	L.P.	Estados Unidos	S.	1	—	—
Franco. Quin.....	25	—	Sirbiente	id	id	1	—	—
Ricardo Laughlin.....	43	—	L.	id	C.	1	—	—
Lugarda Rubio.....	31	—	—	Angeles	id	—	1	—
Andrez Laughlin.....	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Pablo Laughlin.....	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Tomás Laughlin.....	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Vicente Laughlin.....	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ricardo Laughlin.....	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Samuel Laughlin.....	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Feliz Gallardo.....	42	—	L.	Sonora	C.	1	—	—
Ma. Rendon.....	33	—	—	Angeles	id	—	1	—
Fernando Gallardo.....	13	—	L.	Sonora	S.	1	—	—
Josefa Gallardo.....	9	—	—	—	id	—	—	1
Anita Gallardo.....	8	—	—	—	id	—	—	1
Rafael Gallardo.....	44	—	L.	Sonora	C.	1	—	—
Acención Cota.....	26	—	—	Angeles	id	—	1	—
Feliz Gallardo.....	15	—	L.	Sonora	S.	1	—	—
Salomé Gallardo.....	13	—	—	id	id	—	1	—
Joaquina Gallardo.....	12	—	—	id	id	—	1	—
Yginio Gallardo.....	10	—	L.	—	id	—	—	1
Guillermo Wolfskill.....	46	—	L.	Norte A.	C.	1	—	—
Magdalena Lugo.....	40	—	—	Sta. Bárbara	id	—	1	—
Juan Wolfskill.....	2	—	—	Angeles	—	—	—	1
Francisco Wolfskill.....	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Rafaela Romero.....	65	—	—	Sta. Bárbara	C.	—	1	—
Ma. de los Angs. Domínguez.....	18	—	—	id	S.	—	1	—
José Rais.....	32	—	Carpintero	Norte América	C.	1	—	—
Paula Romero.....	27	—	—	Angeles	id	—	1	—
Tomasa Raiz.....	6	—	—	id	—	—	—	1
Miguel Prior.....	40	—	L.	Norte América	V.	1	—	—
Pablo Prior.....	6	—	—	Angeles	—	—	—	1
Harenano.....	23	—	Sirviente	N. A.	S.	1	—	—
Josefa Cota.....	44	—	—	Angeles	V.	—	1	—
Concepción Nieto.....	25	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—

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Nombres	Edad	Residencia	Profeción	Natural de	Estado	Hombres	Mugeres	Niños
José Anto. Nieto.....	23	Angeles	L.	Angeles	S.	1	—	—
Diego Nieto.....	20	id	id	id	id	1	—	—
José Anto. Tremida Nieto.....	16	id	id	id	id	1	—	—
José de Jesús Nieto.....	12	id	id	id	id	1	—	—
Dolores Nieto.....	14	—	id	—	S.	—	1	—
Soleda Nieto.....	9	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Martin Alipaz.....	27	—	Campista	—	C.	1	—	—
Petra Nieto.....	28	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
Benigna Nieto.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
José Manuel Alipaz.....	5	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Teodocio Alipaz.....	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Gertrudis Alipaz.....	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Modesta Alipaz.....	8 meses	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Clara Cota.....	50	—	—	—	V.	1	—	—
Antonio Ma. Reyes.....	22	—	Campista	—	S.	1	—	—
Fecundo Reyes.....	19	—	L.	—	S.	1	—	—
Inocencia Reyes.....	28	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Petra Reyes.....	20	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
Isabel Reyes.....	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Andrea Reyes.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
José Reyes.....	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Margarita Reyes.....	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Juan Ramires.....	38	—	L.P.	—	C.	1	—	—
Petra Avila.....	29	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
Juan Ramirez.....	14	—	L.	—	S.	1	—	—
Luis Ramirez.....	13	—	id	—	id	1	—	—
Rosa Ramirez.....	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Francisco Ramirez.....	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Juan Ramirez.....	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Isabel Ramirez.....	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Juan de la Cruz Ramirez.....	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
José Anto. Rios.....	24	—	Sirbiente	—	S.	1	—	—
Yanuario Avila.....	33	—	L.P.	Angeles	C.	1	—	—
Ma. Serrano.....	37	—	—	—	C.	—	1	—
Dolores Duarte.....	22	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Juan Pablo Duarte.....	20	—	•N.*	—	id	1	—	—
Guillermo Estenegue (Stenner).....	43	—	L.	Inglaterra	V.	1	—	—
Tomasa Estenegue.....	2	—	—	Angeles	—	—	—	1
Juan Estenegue.....	6 meses	—	—	id	—	—	—	1
Vicente de la Osa.....	38	Angeles	Labrador	S. Diego	C.	1	—	—

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Nombres	Edad	Residencia	Profesión	Natural de	Estado	Hombres	Mujeres	Niños
Rita Guillen.....	26	Angeles id	—	Angeles id	Casado	—	1	—
Manuela de la Osa.....	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Susana de la Osa.....	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Anto. Maria de la Osa.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Fabricio de la Osa.....	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Constanza de la Osa.....	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
José Vicente de la Osa.....	4 meses	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Manuel Rubio.....	27	—	Sirbiente	Angeles	Soltero	1	—	—
Franco. J. Alvarado.....	38	—	L.P.	—	Casado id	1	—	—
Arcadia Ruiz.....	32	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
Francisco Alvarado.....	11	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
José Antonio Alvarado.....	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Carlos Alvarado.....	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Arcadia Alvarado.....	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ma. de Jesús López.....	48	—	—	Vaja Califa.	C.	—	1	—
Ma. de los Angeles Feliz.....	26	—	—	Angeles id	S. id	—	1	—
Angustias Feliz.....	15	—	—	—	id	1	—	—
Tomás Feliz.....	12	—	—	—	id	1	—	—
Vicente Feliz.....	13	—	—	—	id	—	—	—
Jacoba Feliz.....	22	—	—	—	C.	—	1	—
José Anto. del Valle.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
José Ygnacio del Valle.....	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Vítor (Víctor) del Valle.....	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ma. Concepción del Valle.....	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
José de Gracia Feliz.....	18	—	Campista	—	S.	1	—	—
Dolores Salgado.....	76	—	—	Vaja California	V.	—	1	—
Ramona López.....	33	—	—	Angeles	V.	—	1	—
Ma. Josefa Sánchez.....	15	—	—	—	C.	—	1	—
José Antonio Sánchez.....	17	—	L. id	—	S.	1	—	—
Francisco Sánchez.....	12	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
Andrez Sánchez.....	11	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
Esteban Sánchez.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Manuel Castillo.....	22	—	Platero	Sonora	C.	1	—	—
Concepción Alvarado.....	20	—	L.P.	Angeles	id	—	1	—
Franco. Alvarado.....	28	—	—	—	C.	1	—	—
Juana Ma. Avila.....	32	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
Merce Alvarado.....	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Inacio Ma. Alvarado.....	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	1

The Los Angeles Padron of 1844

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Nombres	Edad	Residencia	Profesión	Natural de	Estado	Hombres	Mujeres	Niños
Ma. Dolores Alvarado.....	2	Angeles	—	Angeles	—	—	—	1
Ma. Refugio Alvarado.....	8 meses	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Francisco Valenzuela.....	34	—	Labrador	—	Casado	1	—	—
Gertrudis Reyes.....	39	—	—	—	C.	—	1	—
Benigno Valenzuela.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Juan Franco, Valenzuela.....	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ramona Valenzuela.....	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Guadalupe Valenzuela.....	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Santiago Feliz.....	25	—	—	—	C.	—	—	—
Juana Arriola.....	30	—	Campista	—	id	1	1	—
Acención Feliz.....	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ramona Feliz.....	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Juan de la Cruz Arriola.....	11	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
José María Arriola.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Desiderio Valenzuela.....	30	—	L.	—	C.	1	—	1
Luz Reyes.....	45	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
Celedonia (Ilegítima).....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Seferino Reyes.....	35	—	—	—	C.	1	—	—
Encarnación Duarte.....	31	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
José Ma. Reyes.....	13	—	L.	—	—	1	—	—
José Reyes.....	11	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
Nicodemus Reyes.....	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Nepomuceno Reyes.....	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Antonio Reyes.....	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Merce Reyes.....	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Maria Reyes.....	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Desiderio Olivera.....	58	—	—	Sta. Bárba.	C.	1	—	—
Luisa Reyes.....	39	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
Mariano Olivera.....	24	—	L.	—	S.	1	—	—
Benbenuto Olivera.....	12	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
Julían Olivera.....	11	—	L.	—	—	1	—	—
Santiago Olivera.....	10	—	id	—	—	—	—	1
Marcos Olivera.....	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Cimona Olivera.....	20	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Juliana Olivera.....	19	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Josefa Olivera.....	16	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Adelaida Olivera.....	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Estéfana Olivera.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1

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Nombres	Edad	Residencia	Profesión	Natural de	Estado	Hombres	Mujeres	Niños
Martín Olivera.....	25	—	*N.*	Angeles	Casado	1	—	—
Nicolasa Cota.....	23	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
Francisca Olivera.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Marta Olivera.....	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Loreta Olivera.....	8 meses	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Manuel Olivera.....	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Agustín Machado.....	47	—	L. Propietario	—	C. id	1	—	—
Ramona Sepúlveda.....	34	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
Juan Machado.....	19	—	L.	—	S.	1	—	—
Martina Machado.....	14	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Vicenta Machado.....	12	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Domingo Machado.....	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Dolores Machado.....	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Acención Machado.....	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Susana Machado.....	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Francisco Machado.....	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Bernardino Machado.....	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ma. Anta. Machado.....	49	—	—	—	Viuda	—	1	—
Saturmino Reyes.....	28	—	L.P.	—	S.	1	—	—
José Reyes.....	17	—	id	—	id	1	—	—
Manuel Reyes.....	15	—	id	—	id	1	—	—
Pablo Reyes.....	12	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Angel Reyes.....	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Rafael Reyes.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Juana Reyes.....	23	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Encarnación Reyes.....	21	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Ma. de los Reyes Reyes.....	19	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
Gregoria Reyes.....	13	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
Vicente Botiller.....	26	—	—	—	id	—	—	—
Juana Ma. Reyes.....	25	—	Campista	—	C. id	1	—	—
Altigracia Botiller.....	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Joaquín Botiller.....	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
José de Jesús Botiller.....	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Leonicio Botiller.....	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Nepomuceno Valencia.....	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Crisóstomo Vejar.....	30	—	L.	—	C. id	1	—	—
Engracia Reyes.....	35	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

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Nombres	Edad	Residencia	Profesión	Natural de	Estado	Hombres	Mujeres	Niños
Petra Vejar.....	5	Angeles	—	Angeles	—	—	—	1
Pedro Vejar.....	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ma. Soleda.....	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ma. Ygnacia.....	1	—	—	—	C.	1	—	—
Isidro Reyes.....	32	—	Ranchero	—	id	—	1	—
Ma. Antonia Villa.....	24	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Cristóbal Reyes.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
José Antonio Reyes.....	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Juliana Reyes.....	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ma. Romana Reyes.....	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Dolores Morillo.....	36	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
José Valdez.....	22	—	L.	—	S.	1	—	—
Vicente Valdez.....	19	—	id	—	id	1	—	—
Julían Valdez.....	16	—	id	—	id	1	—	—
Guadalupe Valdez.....	13	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Luis Valdez.....	11	—	L.	—	—	1	—	—
Juan Valdez.....	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Vrígido Valdez.....	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ma. Felipa Valdez.....	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ma. de los Angeles Valdez.....	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Pilar Feliz.....	33	—	—	—	V.	—	1	—
José María Romero.....	17	—	Serviente	—	S.	1	—	—
Gregoria Romero.....	14	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Nicolás Romero.....	11	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
Ma. Anta. Romero.....	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Juan Romero.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Jesús Romero.....	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Gregorio Romero.....	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Bacilio Valdez.....	58	—	L. Propietario	—	—	—	—	—
Juan Diego Valdez.....	17	—	id	Sta. Bárbara	V.	1	—	—
Inocencia Valdez.....	15	—	id	S. Diego	S.	—	1	—
Juana Valdez.....	14	—	—	id	S.	—	—	—
Ma. Antonia Valdez.....	12	—	—	id	id	—	1	—
Gaspar Valenzuela.....	56	—	—	id	—	—	—	—
Ma. Ygnacia López.....	50	Angeles	L. Propietario	Sta. Bárbara	C.	1	1	—
José Ignacio Valenzuela.....	16	—	L.	Angeles	id	—	—	—
Eustaquio Valenzuela.....	10	—	id	—	S.	1	—	1

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<i>Nombres</i>	<i>Edad</i>	<i>Residencia</i>	<i>Profesion</i>	<i>Natural de</i>	<i>Estado</i>	<i>Hombres</i>	<i>Mugeres</i>	<i>Niños</i>
Ignacio Ma. Valenzuela.....	9	Angeles	—	Angeles	—	—	—	1
Ma. Adelaida Valenzuela.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
José de la Cruz Valenzuela.....	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ignia Valenzuela.....	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Francisco Marques.....	48	—	Ranchero	Lagos	C.	1	—	—
Roque Valenzuela.....	30	—	—	Angeles	C.	—	1	—
Manuel Marques.....	11	—	L.	—	S.	—	—	1
Franco. Ma. Marques.....	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Vonifacio Marques.....	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Juana Franca. Marques.....	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ramona Marques.....	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
José Dámaso Tobar.....	57	—	*N.*	Masatlan	S.	1	—	—
Antonio Tobar.....	4	—	—	Angeles	—	—	—	1
Alejandro Bell.....	40	—	Comerciante	Estados Unidos	C.	1	—	—
Niebes Guirado.....	40	—	—	Alamos	id	—	1	—
Ricardo Yupunet.....	27	—	Cosinero	Estados Unidos	S.	1	—	—
Eulogio de Celis.....	36	—	Comerciante	Espana	C.	1	—	—
Josefa Argüello.....	19	—	—	Monterey	id	—	1	—
Soleda Ortega.....	47	—	—	id	V.	—	1	—
Concepcion Argüello.....	20	—	—	id	S.	—	1	—
Jordán Pacheco.....	36	—	Comerciante	Lisboa	C.	1	—	—
Juan Temple.....	47	—	Comerciante	Estados Unidos	C.	1	—	—
P. F. Temple.....	23	—	id	id	S.	1	—	—
Saml. Prentice.....	46	—	Albañil	id	S.	1	—	—
José Anto. López.....	23	—	Comerciante	Angeles	S.	1	—	—
Wm. Guearry.....	36	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Anto. Valdez.....	63	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ma. Anta. Feliz.....	54	—	L.	Inglaterra	C.	1	—	—
Tomás Valdez.....	22	—	L.	Angeles	C.	—	1	—
Juan Valdez.....	9	—	—	—	S.	1	—	1
Merce Valdez.....	17	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ma. Gertrudis Valdez.....	12	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Casildo Aguilar.....	30	—	*N.*	—	id	—	1	—
Ma. de Jesús Romero.....	24	—	—	—	C.	1	—	—
José Anto. Aguilar.....	5	—	—	—	id	—	—	1
Nativida.....	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1

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<i>Nombres</i>	<i>Edad</i>	<i>Residencia</i>	<i>Profesión</i>	<i>Natural de</i>	<i>Estado</i>	<i>Hombres</i>	<i>Mugeres</i>	<i>Niños</i>
María Balencia.....	7	Angeles	—	id	—	—	—	1
María Sofia.....	34	id	—	Francia	Soltera	—	1	—
Eugenio Baric.....	7	—	—	Monterey	—	—	—	1
María Loreta Baric.....	5	—	—	Angs.	—	—	—	1
Luis Baric.....	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Victoria Baric.....	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Carmen Rochin.....	64	—	—	Sinaloa	V.	—	1	—
Dolores Navarro.....	35	—	—	Angs.	S.	—	1	—
Julían Valdez.....	34	—	L.	id	C.	1	—	—
Asención Reyes.....	40	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
Calletano Valdés.....	10	—	—	—	S.	—	—	1
Julían Valdés.....	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Crisóstomo Valdés.....	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Francisco Valdés.....	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Cándido Valdés.....	12	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
Juan Valdés.....	37	—	*N.*	—	—	—	—	—
Apolonia Buelna.....	25	—	—	Monterey	C. id	1	—	—
Juan Bta. Barres.....	25	—	—	Francia	S.	1	—	—
Juana Gómez.....	30	—	—	Sonora	id	—	1	—
Franco. Arsaga.....	15	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
Lauriano Arsaga.....	14	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
Agustin Arsaga.....	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Alegandro Arsaga.....	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Eduardo Arsaga.....	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Franca. Olbera.....	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Juan Ignera.....	59	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Franco. Feliz.....	81	—	L.	Angs.	S.	1	—	—
Trenidad Feliz.....	30	—	L.	Angs.	V.	1	—	—
Felipa Morales.....	11	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Juana Morales.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
José Morales.....	12	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
Juan José Lobo.....	30	—	*N.*	—	—	1	—	—
Saturnina Feliz.....	25	—	—	S. Diego	C. id	1	—	—
Petra Lobo.....	9	—	—	Angs.	—	—	1	1

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Nombres	Edad	Residencia	Profesión	Natural de	Estado	Hombres	Mujeres	Niños
Maria Lobo.....	7	Angeles	—	Angeles	—	—	—	1
Criselda Lobo.....	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Adelaida Lobo.....	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Encarnación Lobo.....	6 meses	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Rafael Guirado.....	42	—	Campista	—	C.	1	—	—
Vicenta Urquidez.....	25	—	—	Alamos	id	—	1	—
Ma. de Jesús Guirado.....	8	—	—	Angeles	—	—	—	1
Francisco Guirado.....	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Juan Francisco Guirado.....	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Rafael Guirado.....	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Leandro Guirado.....	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Mariano Yguera.....	39	—	Ranchero	—	C.	1	—	—
Salvadora Ruiz.....	29	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
Merce Yguera.....	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Encarnación Yguera.....	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
José Magin Yguera.....	8 meses	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Pilar Buelna.....	36	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Gabriel Ybarra.....	57	—	Ranchero	—	V.	1	—	—
Pedro Disulco.....	35	—	L.	Masatlan	V.	1	—	—
Franco, Lalleman.....	39	—	Panadero	Francia	S.	1	—	—
Luisa Renteria.....	30	—	—	id	S.	—	—	—
Ma. Gerónima Cruz.....	14	—	—	Méjico	V.	—	1	—
Carlos Cruz.....	12	—	—	id	S.	1	—	—
Refugio Cruz.....	10	—	—	id	id	—	—	1
Ma. Gumisilda Cruz.....	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ramona Cruz.....	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Donaciano Cruz.....	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Juan de D. Padilla.....	47	—	—	Angeles	V.	1	—	—
*Nicolasa Cariaga.....	30	—	—	Méjico	S.	—	1	—
Domingo Cariaga.....	22	—	*N.*	Angeles	S.	1	—	—
Cecundino Cariaga.....	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
José Antonio Cariaga.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Manuel Cariaga.....	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Refugio Cariaga.....	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Narciso Botello.....	31	—	L. Propietario	—	—	—	—	—
Francisca Ruiz.....	31	—	—	Alamos	C.	1	—	—
		—	—	Sonora	id	—	1	—

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<i>Nombres</i>	<i>Edad</i>	<i>Residencia</i>	<i>Profesión</i>	<i>Natural de</i>	<i>Estado</i>	<i>Hombres</i>	<i>Mujeres</i>	<i>Niños</i>
Josefa Alvarado.....	40	Angeles	—	Angeles	V.	—	1	—
Antonio Rocha.....	12	—	—	—	S.	1	—	—
José Jorge Rocha.....	11	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
Mariana Rocha.....	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Feliz Rocha.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Joaquina Valenzuela.....	20	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Desiderio Valenzuela.....	23	—	Sirbiente	—	S.	1	—	—
Eustaquia Rayales.....	40	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
Luis Jordán.....	22	—	L.	Tepic Angeles	C.	1	—	—
Maria Rocha.....	16	—	—	—	C.	—	1	—
Rosa Jordán.....	2 meses	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Rosalía Valenzuela.....	60	—	—	—	V.	—	1	—
Ma. Ygnacia Amador.....	73	—	—	Sta. Bárba. Baja Cal.	V.	—	1	—
Ma. Rochin.....	60	—	—	Sta. Bárbara Angeles	V.	—	1	—
Ma. Anta. Soto.....	12	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Juan B. Alvarado.....	53	—	Labrador	Sta. Bárbara	C.	1	—	—
Toribio Rodríguez.....	32	—	Sirbiente	S. Luis Potocí Vaja Cal.	S.	1	—	—
Luisa Cota.....	67	—	—	—	V.	—	1	—
Gerónimo López.....	12	—	L.	Angeles	S.	1	—	—
José Ma. López.....	26	—	L.P.	—	C.	1	—	—
Concepción Rayales.....	22	—	—	—	C.	—	1	—
Sisilia López.....	11	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Cornelia López.....	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Claudio López.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ma. de los Angeles López.....	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Catarina López.....	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
José Ma. Navarro.....	75	—	—	—	S.	1	—	—
Arculano Olibas.....	50	—	Sirbiente	Sinaloa Angeles	C.	1	—	—
Francisco Olivas.....	22	—	Campista	S. Diego	S.	1	—	—
Andrea Olivas.....	16	—	—	id	id	—	—	1
Rosa Olivas.....	13	—	—	Sn. Luis	S.	—	—	1
Pascual Olivas.....	7	—	—	S. Diego	id	—	—	1
José Antonio Serrano.....	18	—	L.	id	C.	1	—	—
Vicenta Olibas.....	21	—	—	id	id	—	1	—
Francisco Ruiz.....	36	—	L.	S. Diego Angeles	C.	1	—	—
Manuela López.....	32	—	—	—	C.	—	1	—

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Nombres	Edad	Residencia	Profesión	Natural de	Estado	Hombres	Mujeres	Niños
Ramón Ruiz.....	14	Angeles	L.	S. Diego	Soltero	1	—	—
Inés Ruiz.....	12	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
Guadalupe Ruiz.....	10	—	—	Angeles	—	—	—	1
Francisco Ruiz.....	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
José Dolores Ruiz.....	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Manuel Flores.....	45	—	Sirbiente	Méjico	S.	1	—	—
Ygnacio Machado.....	45	—	L. Propertario	Sta. Bárbara	C.	1	—	—
Estefana Palomares.....	35	—	—	Angeles	id	—	1	—
Andrés Machado.....	18	—	L.	—	S.	1	—	—
Francisco Machado.....	14	—	id	—	id	1	—	—
Rafael Machado.....	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Santiago Machado.....	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Maria Machado.....	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
José Antonio Machado.....	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Francisco Machado.....	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Luisa Machado.....	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Bárbara Machado.....	43	—	—	—	V.	—	1	—
Marcos Cota.....	21	—	—	—	S.	1	—	—
Margarita Cota.....	19	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Gertrudis Cota.....	16	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Ma. de Jesús Cota.....	14	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Coléta Cota.....	12	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Ysabel Cota.....	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Soledad Cota.....	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Salbador Cota.....	11	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
José de Gracia Cota.....	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Manuel Antonio Cota.....	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Juan Diego Cota.....	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
José de Jesús Cota.....	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Luis Valenzuela.....	44	—	L.	—	C.	1	—	—
Josefa Rocha.....	40	—	—	—	C.	—	1	—
Dolores Valenzuela.....	15	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Luis Valenzuela.....	13	—	L.	—	id	1	—	—
Pedro Valenzuela.....	12	—	id	—	id	1	—	—
Gonifacio Valenzuela.....	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
José Dolores Valenzuela.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1

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Nombres	Edad	Residencia	Profesión	Natural de	Estado	Hombres	Mugeres	Niños
Manuel Valenzuela.....	6	Angeles	—	Angeles	—	—	—	1
Maria Valenzuela.....	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
José de Jesús Valenzuela.....	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Juan Bautista Valenzuela.....	10 meses	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Tomás Urquidez.....	44	—	L.P.	Vaja California	C.	1	—	—
Ramona Vejar.....	30	—	—	S. Diego	id	—	1	—
Francisca Urquidez.....	11	—	—	Angeles	—	—	1	—
José María Urquidez.....	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Encarnación Urquidez.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Candelario Urquidez.....	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Presentación Urquidez.....	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Juan Moreno.....	60	—	L. Propietario	—	C.	1	—	—
Ma. Anta. Canedo.....	45	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
Manuel Moreno.....	18	—	L.	—	S.	1	—	—
Catarina Moreno.....	16	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Maria Moreno.....	14	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Juana Moreno.....	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Pío Moreno.....	15	—	L.	—	S.	1	—	—
Toribio Moreno.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Carlos Moreno.....	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Feliz Moreno.....	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Rafaela Valenzuela.....	14	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Juan Jaramio.....	58	—	L.	N. Méjico	C.	1	—	—
Ysabel Moreno.....	20	—	—	Angeles	id	—	1	—
Guadalupe Jaramio.....	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Tomás Jaramio.....	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ma. de Gracia.....	8 meses	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Tomás Morillo.....	44	—	—	Baja Cal.	C.	1	—	—
Enrique Castelo.....	35	—	L. Sirbiente	—	id	1	—	—
Antonio Ma. Valdez.....	29	—	L.P.	Angeles	C.	1	—	—
Ma. Pilar Moreno.....	23	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
Vicente Valdés.....	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Pipifano Valdés.....	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Guillermo Cota.....	76	—	—	Baja Cal.	V.	1	—	—
Leonardo Cota.....	25	—	L. Propietario	Angeles	S.	1	—	—
Reimundo Cota.....	23	—	id L.	id	id	1	—	—

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Nombres	Edad	Residencia	Profesión	Natural de	Estado	Hombres	Mujeres	Niños
Francisco Cota.....	22	Angeles	L.P.	Angeles	Soltero	1	—	—
Benito Cota.....	14	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
Ma. Antonia Cota.....	33	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Loreta Cota.....	18	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Luisa Cota.....	15	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Feliciano Rojas.....	24	—	L. Sirbiente	Méjico	S.	1	—	—
Manuel Dominguez.....	42	—	L. Propietario	S. Diego	C.	1	—	—
Engracia Cota.....	37	—	—	Angeles	id	—	1	—
Anita Dominguez.....	15	—	—	S. Diego	S.	—	1	—
Guadalupe Dominguez.....	13	—	—	Angeles	id	—	1	—
Leonor Dominguez.....	11	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Manuel Antonio Dominguez.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Dolores Dominguez.....	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
José Antonio Dominguez.....	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Victoria Dominguez.....	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Eulalia Pérez.....	65	—	—	—	V.	—	1	—
Ygnacio Coronel.....	48	—	Escribiente	Méjico	C.	1	—	—
Francisca Romero.....	46	—	—	Toluca	C.	—	1	—
Antonio Fs. Coronel.....	26	—	L.	Méjico	S.	1	—	—
Micaela Coronel.....	24	—	—	id	S.	—	1	—
Soleda Coronel.....	16	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Rosa Coronel.....	15	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Manuel Coronel.....	14	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
Maria Anta. Coronel.....	7	—	—	Monterey	—	—	—	1
José Antonio Carrillo.....	48	—	L.	Sn. Franco.	V.	1	—	—
José Carrillo.....	8	—	—	Angeles	—	—	—	1
Lino Palacios.....	38	—	Sirbiente	Perú	C.	1	—	—
Concepción Arriola.....	18	—	—	Angeles	id	—	1	—
Manuela Palacios.....	6 meses	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Juan Domingo.....	46	—	L.	Alemania	C.	1	—	—
Reimunda Feliz.....	23	—	—	Angeles	C.	—	1	—
Luisa Domingo.....	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Juan Nepomuceno Domingo.....	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1

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Nombres	Edad	Residencia	Profeción	Natural de	Estado	Hombres	Mugeres	Niños
José Juan Polloreña.....	12	Angeles	Vuérfino	Angeles	S.	1	—	—
Reyes García.....	60	—	Sirbiente	Monterey	S.	1	—	—
José Maria N.	7	—	Vuérfino	Angeles	—	—	1	1
Ma. Ygnacia Berdugo.....	55	—	—	—	V.	—	—	—
José Anto. Feliz.....	39	—	Ranchero	—	S.	1	—	—
Maria Antonia Feliz.....	27	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Anastacio Feliz.....	18	—	Ranchero	—	—	1	—	—
Cecundino Valenzuela.....	9	—	Familiar	—	—	—	—	1
Soleda Feliz.....	34	—	—	—	V.	—	1	—
Ma. Dolores Serrano.....	15	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Maria Antonia Serrano.....	13	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
Luisa Serrano.....	11	—	L.P.	—	id	—	1	—
Julían Rallales.....	37	—	—	—	C.	1	—	—
Maria Feliz.....	32	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
Dolores Rallales.....	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
José Miguel Rallales.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Estéfana Rallales.....	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ramona Rallales.....	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
José de Jesús Rallales.....	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ygnacio Lugo.....	40	—	Campista	Sta. Bárbara	C.	1	—	—
Maria Sotelo.....	36	—	—	Angeles	id	—	1	—
Catarina Ruiz.....	22	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Santiago Ruiz.....	16	—	Campista	—	S.	1	—	—
Florentina Ruiz.....	15	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
José Dolores Ruiz.....	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Santiago Ruiz.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Miguel Lugo.....	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ysabel Lugo.....	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ramona Lugo.....	9 meses	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Juan Martinez.....	24	—	Campista	N. México	C.	1	—	—
Nativida Ruiz.....	20	—	—	Angeles	id	—	1	—
José Martínez.....	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
José Antonio Martínez.....	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

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Nombres	Edad	Residencia	Profesión	Natural de	Estado	Hombres	Mujeres	Niños
Dolores Ruiz.....	7	Angeles	—	Angeles	—	—	—	1
Juan Ruiz.....	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Louis Lamoreu.....	43	—	Comerciante	Francia	Casado	1	—	—
Martin Aragón.....	26	—	Zapatero	Sonora	S.	1	—	—
Jasinto Garsia.....	30	—	id	Monterey	C.	1	—	—
Abel Estearns.....	42	—	Comerciante	Norte América	C.	1	—	—
Arcadia Bandini.....	17	—	—	Sn. Diego	id	—	1	—
José Mason.....	65	—	Sirviente	Sonora	V.	1	—	—
Louis Bauchet.....	59	—	L.	Francia	C.	1	—	—
Basilia Alanis.....	37	—	—	Angeles	id	—	1	—
Luis G. Bauchet.....	11	—	—	—	S.	1	—	—
Ma. de Jesús Bauchet.....	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Luis Bauchet.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
José Flores.....	48	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Jacobo Frankfort.....	43	—	Sastre	Mazatlan	S.	1	—	—
Juan Manzo.....	30	—	Comerciante	Alemania	S.	1	—	—
Rita Valdez.....	53	—	—	Español	S.	—	—	—
Demetrio Villa.....	32	—	Ranchero	Sta. Bárbara	V.	1	—	—
Josefa Villa.....	18	—	—	Angeles	S.	—	1	—
Ramona Villa.....	17	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Acención Villa.....	15	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Maria Villa.....	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ma. Ramona Villa.....	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Mariano Villa.....	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Quirino Valenzuela.....	16	—	—	—	S.	1	—	—
Mariano Villa.....	37	—	Sirbiente	—	—	—	—	—
Ma. Anta. Alvares.....	26	—	Ranchero	—	C.	1	—	—
José Anto. Villa.....	9	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
Francisco Villa.....	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Franco. de las llagas Villa.....	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ma. de la Merce Villa.....	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
José Arnas.....	24	—	Comerciante	España	S.	1	—	—
Jorge Salazar.....	28	—	Sirbiente	Sta. Cruz	S.	1	—	—
Máximo Alanis.....	84	—	L.P.	Sinaloa	C.	1	—	—
Juana Reyes.....	59	—	—	Angeles	id	—	1	—

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Nombres	Edad	Residencia	Profesión	Natural de	Estado	Hombres	Mugeres	Niños
Marcos Alanis.....	24	Angeles	Labrador	Angeles	S.	1	—	—
Concepción Alanis.....	26	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
Susana Alanis.....	22	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
Josefa Alanis.....	19	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
José Alanis.....	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Antonio Martinez.....	25	—	Sirbiente	N. Méjico	S.	1	—	—
Anastacio Feliz.....	18	—	—	Angeles	id	1	—	—
José Anto. Sánchez.....	50	—	Campista	Sta. Bárbara	V.	1	—	—
Ramón Sánchez.....	18	—	L.	Angeles	S.	1	—	—
Franco Sánchez.....	16	—	id	id	id	1	—	—
Martin Sánchez.....	12	—	id	Angeles	id	1	—	—
*Teodocia Sains.....	30	—	—	—	V.	—	1	—
Franca, López.....	13	—	S.	—	S.	—	1	—
Pedro López.....	12	—	—	—	id	1	—	—
Pedro Domingo López.....	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ma. Ylaria López.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ma. Antonia Sánchez.....	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ma. Dolores Sánchez.....	4 meses	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Julían Almasar.....	35	—	L. Sirbiente	Méjico	C.	1	—	—
Franco, Berdugo.....	40	—	Campista	Angeles	V.	1	—	—
Inocente Valdés.....	25	—	Cajero	Sta. Bárbara	C.	1	—	—
Loreta Ortega.....	23	—	—	id	id	—	1	—
José de los Stos. Valdés.....	2	—	—	Angeles	—	—	—	1
Ma. Teresa Valdés.....	7 meses	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ysabel Botello.....	65	—	—	Alamos	V.	—	1	—
Anita Guirado.....	39	—	—	id	S.	—	1	—
Rafaela Guirado.....	37	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Bernardino Guirado.....	31	—	—	—	S.	1	—	—
Santiago Yonson.....	44	—	Ranchero	Inglaterra	C.	1	—	—
Carmen Guirado.....	32	—	—	Alamos	id	—	1	—
Franco, Yonson.....	17	—	Campista	Sonora	S.	1	—	—
Anita Yonson.....	15	—	—	id	id	—	1	—
Adelaida Yonson.....	14	—	—	id	id	—	1	—
Margarita Yonson.....	9	—	—	Angeles	—	—	—	1
Santiago Enrique Yonson.....	4 meses	—	—	—	—	—	—	1

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Nombres	Edad	Residencia	Profesión	Natural de	Estado	Hombres	Mujeres	Niños
Joaquín Quintana.....	101	Angeles	Cosinero	Perú Angeles	Viudo	1	—	—
*Juana Avila.....	26	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Juan Avila.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ma. Anastacia Avila.....	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Asención Avila.....	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Maria Sinobia Avila.....	8 meses	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Tomás Serrano.....	50	—	L.	S. Luis Angeles	C.	1	—	—
Nicolasa Navarro.....	38	—	L.	—	id	—	1	—
José Pío Serrano.....	14	—	id	—	S.	1	—	—
José Guillermo Serrano.....	12	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
José del Carmen Serrano.....	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Rosa Serrano.....	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Julian Chábez.....	36	—	L.	N. Méjico Angeles	C.	1	—	—
Dorotea Romero.....	29	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
Rosalía Chábez.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
José Presentación Chábez.....	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ma. Leonides.....	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ana María Leonides Chábez.....	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ma. de los Angeles Leonides Chábez.....	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Mariano Chábez.....	40	—	L.	N. Méjico	V.	1	—	—
José Gabriel Chábez.....	13	—	id	id	S.	1	—	—
José Manuel Chábez.....	11	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
Ramón Chábez.....	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
José Ma. Ocaña.....	29	—	L.	N. Méjico Angeles	C.	1	—	—
Franca, Ruiz.....	28	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
Ysidro Ocaña.....	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Juan Ocaña.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Gregorio Ocaña.....	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Franco. Ocaña.....	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Espíritu Santo.....	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Mariano Ruiz.....	29	—	L.	—	C.	1	—	—
Maria Ybarra.....	29	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
José Ma. Ruiz.....	11	—	—	—	S.	1	—	—
José Dolores Ruiz.....	8	—	L.	—	—	—	—	1
José Santiago Ruiz.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1

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Nombres	Edad	Residencia	Profeción	Natural de	Estado	Hombres	Mugeres	Niños
José Sabas Ruiz.....	7	Angeles	—	Angeles	—	—	—	1
Francisco Ruiz.....	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Guadalupe Ruiz.....	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Román Ruiz.....	3 meses	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ma. Antonia Ruiz.....	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Luisa Barelás.....	50	—	N.*	Sonora	V.	—	1	—
*Eugenia Balencia.....	32	—	—	Angeles	S.	—	1	—
*Tomas Balencia.....	15	—	—	id	S.	—	1	—
*Manuel Balencia.....	28	—	*N.*	—	S.	1	—	—
Joaquín Balencia.....	26	—	*N.*	—	id	1	—	—
José Balencia.....	20	—	*id*	—	S.	1	—	—
Miguel Balencia.....	11	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Antonio Flores.....	37	—	*N.*	Sonora	S.	1	—	—
José Ma. Luján.....	33	—	L.	N. Méjico	C.	1	—	—
Ma. del Carmen Guillen.....	18	—	—	Angeles	id	—	1	—
Margarita Luján.....	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
José Manuel Luján.....	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ma. Luisa Luján.....	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Franco. Duarte.....	32	—	L.	—	C.	1	—	—
Siriaca Valenzuela.....	16	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
José Ma. Ortis.....	59	—	—	Sinaloa	id	1	—	—
Filomena Duarte.....	37	—	—	Angeles	id	—	1	—
Josefa Duarte.....	15	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Diego Ortis.....	8	—	—	Angeles	—	—	—	1
Josefa Ortis.....	10	—	—	—	C.	—	1	—
Juan Lugo.....	49	—	L.	—	C.	1	—	—
Franca. Duarte.....	33	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
José Anto. Lugo.....	13	—	L.	—	S.	1	—	—
Francisco Lugo.....	12	—	id	—	—	1	—	—
José Sasalar (Salazar).....	39	—	L.	—	C.	1	—	—
Ma. de Jesús Lugo.....	15	—	—	N. Méjico	id	—	1	—
José Joaquin Salazar.....	1	—	—	Angeles	—	—	—	1
Juan Contreras.....	47	—	L.	Sonora	C.	1	—	—
Benigno Contreras.....	40	—	id	id	id	1	—	—
Juan Ochoa.....	30	—	Sirbiente	id	S.	1	—	—

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Nombres	Edad	Residencia	Profesión	Natural de	Estado	Hombres	Mujeres	Niños
Ramón Arce.....	28	Angeles	—	N. Méjico	C.	1	—	—
Manuela Quintana.....	25	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Franco, Anto. Arce.....	1	—	L.	Angeles	C.	—	—	—
Antonio Salazar.....	36	—	—	N. Méjico	id	1	—	—
Ma. de la Cruz Casillas.....	25	—	—	id	—	—	1	—
Juan Salazar.....	3	—	—	id	—	—	—	1
Guadalupe Gurude.....	68	—	—	N. Méjico	V.	—	1	—
Gerónimo Quintana.....	36	—	—	id	C.	1	—	—
Tomasa Tenoris.....	22	—	—	id	id	—	1	—
Manuel Quintana.....	5	—	—	id	—	—	—	1
Jesús María Quintana.....	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Franco. López.....	25	—	L.P.	Angeles	C.	1	—	—
Ma. del Rosario Almenares.....	22	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
Petra López.....	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Juana López.....	4 meses	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Antonio Balencia.....	24	—	Sirbiente	Vaja Calif.	S.	1	—	—
Emilia Seseña.....	50	—	—	id	V.	—	1	—
José Ma. Almenares.....	33	—	L.	Vaja Calif.	S.	1	—	—
Andrea Almenares.....	29	—	—	Angeles	S.	—	1	—
Pilar Almenares.....	27	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
José Diego Almenares.....	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
José de los Santos Almenares.....	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Soledad Almenares.....	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Felipe Villela.....	54	—	L.	Vaja Calif.	C.	1	—	—
Juana Arrollo.....	32	—	—	Monterey	id	—	1	—
Anto. Ma. Villela.....	15	—	L.	Sta. Bárbara	S.	1	—	—
José Villela.....	7	—	—	id	—	—	—	1
Juana Villela.....	4	—	—	Angeles	—	—	—	1
Ma. Refugio Villela.....	2	—	—	Angeles	—	—	—	1
José María Corona.....	40	—	Albañil	Méjico	S.	1	—	—
Estéban López.....	54	—	L.P.	Angeles	C.	1	—	—
Petra Barelás.....	40	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
Leandro López.....	12	—	L.	—	S.	1	—	—
Pablo López.....	9	—	—	—	S.	1	—	—
José Rubio.....	24	—	L.P.	Angeles	S.	1	—	—

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Nombres	Edad	Residencia	Profeción	Natural de	Estado	Hombres	Mugeres	Niños
Casimiro Rubio.....	18	Angeles	L.	Angeles	S.	1	—	—
Calletano Barelás.....	60	—	L.P.	Sonora	V.	1	—	—
Dolores Barelás.....	33	—	—	Angeles	S.	—	1	—
Apolonia Barelás.....	27	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Teresa Barelás.....	16	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Ilaria Barelás.....	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Prudencia Barelás.....	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Angustia Barelás.....	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
José Dolores Barelás.....	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Antonio Ma. Barelás.....	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Tomás Rubio.....	26	—	Campista	—	C.	1	—	—
Estéfana Soto.....	20	—	—	S. Luis	id	—	1	—
Juan Rubio.....	5	—	—	Angeles	—	—	—	1
Candelaria Rubio.....	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Caciano Carrión.....	50	—	L.	Masatlan	C.	1	—	—
Josefa López.....	33	—	—	Angeles	id	—	1	—
Saturnino Carrión.....	12	—	—	—	S.	1	—	—
Julio López.....	19	—	—	—	S.	1	—	—
Antonio Rodríguez.....	36	—	L.	—	S.	1	—	—
Locadia Selaya.....	20	—	Albañil	S. Luis Potocí	C.	1	—	—
Ma. Anta. Rodríguez.....	4	—	—	Vaja Calif.	id	—	1	—
Ramona Rodríguez.....	3	—	—	Angeles	—	—	—	1
José Rodríguez.....	5 meses	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
José Gerbacio Rubio.....	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Pedro Dominguez.....	32	—	L. Propietario	—	—	1	—	—
Ma. de Jesús Cota.....	34	—	—	S. Diego	C.	—	1	—
Andrés Dominguez.....	10	—	—	Angeles	id	—	—	—
Magdalena Dominguez.....	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Feliciana Dominguez.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Estéfana Dominguez.....	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Maria Dominguez.....	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Pedro Eugenio Dominguez.....	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Agustin Nabarro.....	40	—	Sirbiente	S. Diego	S.	1	—	—
José Maria Money.....	38	—	L. y Médico	Escocia	C.	1	—	—
Isabel Rada.....	16	—	—	Sonora	id	—	1	—
Anto. Ygo. Avila.....	68	—	L. Propietario	Del Fuerte	C.	1	—	—
Rosa Ma. Ruiz.....	50	—	—	Sta. Bárbara	id	—	1	—

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Nombres	Edad	Residencia	Profesión	Natural de	Estado	Hombres	Mujeres	Niños
Pedro Anto. Avila.....	19	Angeles	Ranchero	Angeles	Soltero	1	—	—
Marta Avila.....	16	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
José Avila.....	28	—	N.	—	C.	1	—	—
Pilar Villa.....	30	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
José del Carmen Villa.....	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Pedro Avila.....	24	—	Campista	—	C.	1	—	—
Nepomusena Altamirano.....	16	—	—	Monterey	C.	—	1	—
Ma. Susana Avila.....	1	—	—	Angeles	—	—	—	1
Felipe Talamantes.....	72	—	Ranchero	Del Sur	C.	1	—	—
Ildelfonsa Avila.....	60	—	—	Fuerte	id	—	1	—
*Guadalupe Talamantes.....	28	—	—	Angeles	S.	—	1	—
Pedro Talamantes.....	15	—	Campista	—	id	1	—	—
Alejo Talamantes.....	11	—	id	—	id	1	—	—
Soleda Talamantes.....	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Tomas Talamantes.....	17	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Ma. de Jesús Talamantes.....	10 meses	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Pablo Talamantes.....	49	—	Campista	—	V.	1	—	—
Leonardo Talamantes (Leonardo).....	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Perfecto Talamantes.....	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Tomás Talamantes.....	51	—	L.	—	C.	1	—	—
Petronila Olivas.....	39	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
José Dámaso Talamantes.....	23	—	L.	—	S.	1	—	—
José de Jesús Talamantes.....	12	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
Felipe Talamantes.....	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ma. Altigrasia Talamantes.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Marta Talamantes.....	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ma. de los Angeles Pérez.....	14	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
José Ma. Linares.....	12	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
José Anto. Manríquez.....	25	—	familiar	—	id	1	—	—
Gregoria Talamantes.....	19	—	Labrador	—	id	1	—	—
Felicidad Manríquez.....	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Felipe Manríquez.....	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Margarita Manríquez.....	7 meses	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Tomás Romero.....	30	—	Zapatero	Sur	C.	1	—	—
José Serbul Barelas.....	30	—	Campista	Angeles	C.	1	—	—
Acencion Avila.....	24	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
Isabel Barelas.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Anto. María Barelas.....	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Guadalupe Barelas.....	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

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Nombres	Edad	Residencia	Profecion	Natural de	Estado	Hombres	Mugeres	Niños
Josefa López.....	63	Angeles	—	Angeles	V.	—	1	—
Lásaro Vejar.....	33	—	Labrador	—	S.	1	—	—
José Manuel Vejar.....	24	—	Ranchero	—	S.	1	—	—
Jesús María Vejar.....	5	—	—	—	C.	—	—	1
Ignacio Sepulveda.....	25	—	Campista	—	C.	1	—	—
Teresa Villa.....	32	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
Fernando Sepulveda.....	1	—	—	—	id	—	—	1
Ricardo Vejar.....	39	—	L. Propietario	—	C.	1	—	—
María Soto.....	33	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
María Vejar.....	17	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Pilar Vejar.....	16	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Josefa Vejar.....	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Concepción Vejar.....	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Magdalena Vejar.....	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Julia Vejar.....	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Francisco Vejar.....	12	—	—	—	S.	1	—	—
Ramón Vejar.....	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Juan Anto. Vejar.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ygnacio Vejar.....	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ramón Vejar.....	8 meses	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
José Belásquez.....	14	—	Sirbiente	Vaja Calif.	S.	1	—	—
Rafael Duarte.....	20	—	id	Angeles	S.	—	—	—
Jorge Morillo.....	40	—	Labrador	Vaja Cal.	C.	1	—	—
Magdalena Vejar.....	42	—	—	S. Diego	id	—	1	—
Salvadora Berdugo.....	20	—	—	Angeles	S.	—	1	—
Concepción Berdugo.....	18	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
Luteria Berdugo.....	15	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Joaquin Berdugo.....	12	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bruno Morillo.....	9	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
Guadalupe Morillo.....	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Merenciana Morillo.....	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Teodoro Romero.....	30	—	L.	—	C.	1	—	—
Ma. Berdugo.....	25	—	—	Sonora	C.	—	—	—
Domingo Romero.....	8	—	—	Vaja Calif.	C.	—	1	—
Pifania Romero.....	4	—	—	Vaja Calif.	—	—	—	—
Joaquin Belásquez.....	55	—	L.	Angs.	C.	—	—	—
		—	—	Caponeta	—	1	—	—

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Nombres	Edad	Residencia	Profesión	Natural de	Estado	Hombres	Mujeres	Niños
Nasaria Vejar.....	36	Angeles	—	S. Diego	C.	—	1	—
Salbadora Belásquez.....	20	—	—	Angeles	S.	—	1	—
Loreta Belásquez.....	18	—	—	S. Luis	S.	—	1	—
Pedro Belásquez.....	15	—	Campista	id	S.	1	—	—
Joaquín Belásquez.....	13	—	L.	id	id	1	—	—
José Ygo. Belásquez.....	12	—	L.	—	—	1	—	—
José Antonio Belásquez.....	9	—	—	id	—	—	—	1
Vicente Belásquez.....	5	—	—	Angeles	—	—	—	1
Maria Belásquez.....	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Claudio Berde.....	50	—	Labrador	Sinaloa	C.	1	—	—
Joaquina Soto.....	29	—	—	id	id	—	1	—
Lásaro Berde.....	12	—	L.	id	S.	1	—	—
José Antonio Berde.....	8	—	—	S. Diego	—	—	—	1
Ma. Leonor Berde.....	3	—	—	id	—	—	—	1
Bernabel N.....	44	—	L.	Angeles	C.	1	—	—
Ma. Santos Berde.....	30	—	—	Sonora	id	—	1	—
Ramón Berde.....	33	—	L.	id	id	1	—	—
Pedro Berde.....	56	—	L.	Sinaloa	S.	1	—	—
José Ma. Montalbán.....	35	—	Campista	Angeles	C.	1	—	—
Bernardo Montalbán.....	22	Angeles	*N.*	—	S.	1	—	—
Justo Morillo.....	47	—	Ranchero	Loreto	C.	1	—	—
Eulogia Nieto.....	39	—	—	Angeles	id	—	1	—
Juan Blanco.....	12	—	Familiar	—	—	1	—	—
Anto. Orantes.....	25	—	Campista	Vaja Calif.	C.	1	—	—
Anto. Morillo.....	23	—	Ranchero	Angeles	C.	1	—	—
Rafaela Romero.....	15	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
Dolores Valenzuela.....	26	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Maria Valenzuela.....	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Guadalupe Valenzuela.....	3	—	—	Angeles	C.	1	—	—
José Ma. Ramirez.....	50	—	Militar	Chehicomula	—	—	—	—
Dolores Palomares.....	29	—	—	Angeles	id	—	1	—
Concepción Ramirez.....	12	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Maria Librada Ramirez.....	11	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Pedro Ramirez.....	10	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Maria Ygnacia Ramirez.....	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Benedita Ramirez.....	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Agustín Ramirez.....	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Refugio Ramirez.....	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Cristóbal Ramirez.....	5 meses	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Guadalupe Ruiz.....	40	—	Labrador	—	C.	1	—	—

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Nombres	Edad	Residencia	Profeción	Natural de	Estado	Hombres	Mugeres	Niños
Nepomuceno Alvarado.....	52	Angeles	L. Propietario	—	C. id	1	—	—
Bárbara Palomares.....	45	—	—	—	S. id	—	1	—
Ysidro Alvarado.....	14	—	L.	Angeles	S.	—	1	—
Merenciana Alvarado.....	21	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Altagracia Alvarado.....	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ma. Ygnacia.....	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ramona Alvarado.....	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Bruno Soto.....	24	—	Sapatero	—	C. id	1	—	—
Tomasa Alvarado.....	28	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Andrea Soto.....	6 meses	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Joaquin de los Ríos y Ruiz.....	41	—	Sirujano Mtr.	Méjico	C. id	1	—	—
Narsisa Alvarado.....	18	—	—	Angeles	C. id	—	1	—
Joaquin de los Ríos y A.....	1.6 meses	—	—	id	—	—	—	1
Ramón Yorba.....	26	Sta. Ana	Ranchero	—	S.	1	—	—
Magdalena Yorba.....	36	id	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Balentin Ríos.....	33	Sta. Ana	L.	Sn. Diego	C.	1	—	—
José Ma. Gaytan.....	20	id	Sirbiente	id	S.	1	—	—
Francisco Rubio.....	22	—	id	Angeles	S.	1	—	—
José Anto. Yorba.....	33	Sta. Ana	Ranchero	Angs.	C.	1	—	—
Benigna López.....	35	—	—	S. Diego	C. id	—	1	—
Manuela Yorba.....	22	—	—	id	S.	—	1	—
Tomás Yorba.....	18	—	Ranchero	id	S. id	1	—	—
Soleda Yorba.....	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Maria Yorba.....	5	—	—	S. Juan	—	—	—	1
José de Altagracia Yorba.....	4	—	—	id	—	—	—	1
Egumesindo Yorba.....	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Miguel Yorba.....	24	Sta. Ana	Campista	S. Diego	C. id	1	—	—
Josefa Bermudes.....	15	id	—	id	—	—	1	—
Refugio Yorba.....	5 meses	—	—	S. Ana	S.	—	—	—
Miguel Morillo.....	30	—	Sirbiente	S. Diego	S. id	1	—	—
Rosario Aguilar.....	56	S. Juan Cpno.	L.	id	V.	1	—	—
José Aguilar.....	20	—	id	—	S. id	1	—	—
Anastacio Aguilar.....	18	—	L.	—	S.	1	—	—
Pilar Aguilar.....	16	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Ramón Aguilar.....	14	—	L.	—	S.	1	—	—
Abel Stearns.....	42	Angeles	Comerciante	—	C. id	1	—	—
Arcadia Bandini.....	17	—	—	N. América S. Diego	—	—	1	—

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Nombres	Edad	Residencia	Profesión	Natural de	Estado	Hombres	Mujeres	Niños
Juan Bandini.....	46	Angeles	Comerciante	Lima	Casado	1	—	—
Refugio Argüello.....	30	—	—	S. Diego	id	—	1	—
Ysidora Bandini.....	15	—	—	id	S.	—	1	—
José María Bandini.....	12	—	—	id	id	1	—	—
Juan Bautista Bandini.....	10	—	—	id	—	—	—	1
Dolores Bandini.....	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Margarita Bandini.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Juan de la Cruz Bandini.....	5	—	—	S. Gabriel	—	—	—	1
José Anto. Argüello.....	16	—	—	S. Diego	S.	1	—	—
Julian Manríquez.....	40	—	Ranchero	Angeles	C.	1	—	—
Trenidad Domínguez.....	38	—	—	S. Diego	id	—	1	—
Manuel Manríquez.....	16	—	—	Angeles	id	1	—	—
Manuel Manríquez.....	12	—	Campista	—	S.	1	—	—
Concepción Silbas.....	12	—	id	—	id	1	—	—
José Ma. Rayales.....	41	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Vicente Sánchez.....	58	—	Sirbiente	Angeles	—	1	—	—
Victoria Yguera.....	53	—	L. Propietario	Sta. Bárva.	S.	1	—	—
Acención Avila.....	36	—	—	Angeles	id	1	—	—
Tomás Sánchez.....	18	—	—	—	C.	—	1	—
Josefa Sánchez.....	15	—	Campista	—	C.	1	—	—
Guadalupe Sánchez.....	14	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Iuana Sánchez.....	13	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
Felipe de Jesús Sánchez.....	11	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
Luisa Sánchez.....	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
José Anto. Sánchez.....	13	—	Vuérfano	—	—	1	—	—
Catarina Ruiz.....	50	Bolsas	—	Sta. Bárbara	S.	—	—	—
Catarina Manríquez.....	23	—	—	Angeles	V.	—	1	—
Prentación Manríquez.....	5	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
José Dolores Manríquez.....	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Antonio Ma. Valencia, N. Vuérfano.....	17	—	L.	—	S.	1	—	—
Esmergildo Bermúdez.....	46	—	L.	S. Diego	C.	1	—	—
Estéfana Morillo.....	37	—	L.	id	id	—	1	—
Salbador Bermudes.....	13	—	L.	id	S.	1	—	—
Vicente Bermudes.....	10	—	—	S. Gabriel	—	—	—	—
Tomás Bermudes.....	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Domingo Bermudes.....	6 meses	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Juana Bermudes.....	15	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Juana B. Bermudes.....	6	—	—	id	S.	—	—	1
Ma. Juliana Bermudes.....	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1

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Nombres	Edad	Residencia	Profesión	Natural de	Estado	Hombres	Mujeres	Niños
Bernardo Yorba.....	43	Sta. Ana	L. Propietario	Sn. Diego Angeles	C.	1	—	—
Felipa Dominguz.....	34	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
Reimundo Yorba.....	19	—	Campista	—	S.	1	—	—
Ynes Yorba.....	17	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
Ma. de Jesus Yorba.....	13	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
Prudencio Yorba.....	11	—	—	S. Antonio	—	1	—	—
José de Jesus Yorba.....	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Marcos Yorba.....	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Andrés Yorba.....	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Leonor Yorba.....	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Trenidad Yorba.....	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Vicente Yorba.....	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Tomás Sabaleta.....	22	—	Sirbiente id	—	S.	1	—	—
Pedro Peres.....	60	—	—	Sinaloa Sinaloa	C.	1	—	—
Guadalupe Moreno.....	80	—	—	—	C.	—	1	—
Nasario Duarte.....	32	—	Sirbiente	S. Diego id	C.	1	—	—
Maria Silbas.....	29	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
Ma. Yga. Duarte.....	5	—	—	S. Gabriel id	—	—	—	1
José Ma. Duarte.....	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Acencion Duarte.....	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Joaquin Duarte.....	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Nicolás Feliz.....	43	Angeles	Carpintero	Sonora Angeles	C.	1	—	—
Martiliana Romero.....	24	Angeles	—	id	id	—	1	—
José Anto. Feliz.....	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Maria Feliz.....	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Juan Feliz.....	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Juan B. Mutrel.....	34	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
Ramón Aguilar.....	44	—	Sirbiente	Vaja Calif. id	S.	1	—	—
Luis Villa.....	40	—	Sirbiente	id	C.	1	—	—
Rosario Gastelum.....	30	—	—	id	id	—	1	—
José Villa.....	12	—	—	id	S.	1	—	—
Marcos Villa.....	9	—	—	id	—	—	—	1
José Manuel Villa.....	1	—	—	Angeles	—	—	—	1
Ma. Loreta.....	4	—	—	Vaja Califa.	—	—	—	1
José Flores.....	31	—	Sirbiente	—	C.	1	—	—
Catarina.....	20	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
José Flores.....	7	—	—	S. Gabriel	—	—	—	1
Juan Flores.....	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ma. Flores.....	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Andrés Albire.....	24	—	Sirbiente	—	S.	1	—	—
Antonio Quintana.....	43	—	L.	S. Diego N. Méjico	C.	1	—	—

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Nombres	Edad	Residencia	Profesión	Natural de	Estado	Hombres	Mujeres	Niños
Guadalupe Trujillo.....	26	Angeles	—	N. Méjico	C.	—	1	—
Maria Quintana.....	11	—	—	id	S.	—	1	—
Franco. Avila.....	13	—	L.	id	id	1	—	—
Franco. Quintana.....	16	—	L.	id	S.	1	—	—
Rita Quintana.....	10	—	—	id	id	—	—	1
Emidio Bejar.....	34	S. Juan Cpno.	L.	Sn. Luis	C.	1	—	—
Rafaela Avila.....	25	—	—	Angeles	id	—	1	—
Ma. de Jesús Bejar.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ysidora Bejar.....	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Franco. Bejar.....	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Martin Subisa.....	45	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Manuel Barelás.....	20	—	L.	Sonora	C.	1	—	—
Benito D. Wilson.....	36	Jurupa	L.	Angeles	S.	1	—	—
Ramona Yorba.....	16	—	—	N. América	C.	—	—	—
José Ma. Bermúdez.....	37	—	Sirbiente	Angeles	id	1	—	—
Catarina Orantes.....	33	—	—	S. Diego	C.	—	—	—
José Bermudes.....	4	—	—	Vaja Cal.	id	—	1	—
Refugio Bermudes.....	3	—	—	id	—	—	—	1
Loreta Bermudes.....	2	—	—	Angeles	—	—	—	1
Manuel Carson.....	47	Jurupa	—	id	—	—	—	—
Francisca Uribes.....	28	Coyotes	—	Estados Unidos	S.	1	—	—
Carlota Uribes.....	19	—	—	Angeles	V.	—	—	—
José Antonio, Vuérfino.....	12	—	familiar	—	S.	1	—	—
Serafina Uribes.....	24	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Manuela Uribes.....	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Maria Ygnacia Uribes.....	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Santiago Ríos.....	43	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ysabel Uribes.....	43	—	L.	S. Diego	C.	1	—	—
Benancio Ríos.....	17	—	L.	Angeles	id	—	1	—
Maria Refugio Ríos.....	1	—	—	—	S.	—	—	1
Manuel Rajel (Rangel).....	50	Coyotes	L.	—	C.	1	—	—
Ma. Ygnacia García.....	30	—	—	Sn. Diego	id	—	1	—
Ma. Josefa Gradias.....	20	—	Vuérfino	—	S.	—	1	—
Josefa Rajel (Rangel).....	18	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
Ma. de los Angeles Rajel (Rangel).....	15	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Jesús Rajel (Rangel).....	12	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
Rafael Rajel (Rangel).....	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Gertrudis Rajel (Rangel).....	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Gabriel Rajel (Rangel).....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Polonia Rajel (Rangel).....	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

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Nombres	Edad	Residencia	Profecion	Natural de	Estado	Hombres	Mugeres	Niños
Franco Rajel (Rangel).....	4	Coyotes	—	Angeles	—	—	—	1
Ma. Perfecta Rangel.....	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
José Marcial Rangel.....	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Juan José García.....	38	—	Sapatero	—	C.	1	—	—
Ma. Pilar López.....	23	—	—	Angeles	id	—	1	—
Felicita García.....	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Juan García.....	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Pilar García.....	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Francisco Rodríguez.....	24	—	Sirbiente	Sn. Diego	C.	1	—	—
Ma. Olibares.....	20	—	—	id	id	—	1	—
Julián Rodríguez.....	5	—	—	Angeles	—	—	—	1
Franco, Rodríguez.....	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Mariano Bermúdez.....	29	—	—	—	S.	1	—	—
Rafael García.....	22	—	Sirbiente	Sonora	S.	1	—	—
Julián Padilla.....	43	—	id	P. de S. José	id	1	—	—
Polonio Beliz.....	35	—	id	Guadalajara	id	1	—	—
Catarino López.....	28	—	id	Vaja Califa.	C.	1	—	—
Mariana Lara.....	18	—	—	Angeles	—	—	1	—
José López.....	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Carlos López.....	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Nolberto Andrada.....	41	—	Sirbiente	Vaja Califa.	S.	1	—	—
Gabriel García.....	50	Sta. Ana	Sirbiente	Sta. Bárbar.	C.	1	—	—
Benedita Feliz.....	40	id	—	id	id	—	1	—
Juan José García.....	12	—	—	—	S.	1	—	—
José de la Luz García.....	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Antonio María García.....	11	—	—	Sta. Ana	—	—	—	1
José Dolores García.....	9	—	—	id	—	—	—	1
José Manuel García.....	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
José Gabriel García.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Abelino García.....	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Andrés Duarte.....	40	Sto. Domingo	Ranchero	—	C.	1	—	—
Gertrudes Valenzuela.....	30	—	—	S. Gabriel	id	—	1	—
Felipe Duarte.....	12	—	L.	S. Diego	S.	1	—	—
José Sabas Valenzuela.....	23	—	L.	—	C.	1	—	—
Gertrudis Olibas.....	16	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
María Valenzuela.....	8 meses	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ygo. Alvarado.....	37	Sn. José	L. Propietario	Angeles	C.	1	—	—
Luisa Avila.....	28	—	L.	—	id	—	1	—
Juan Alvarado.....	14	—	—	—	S.	1	—	—
Juan de Dios Alvarado.....	12	—	—	—	id	1	—	—

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Nombres	Edad	Residencia	Profesión	Natural de	Estado	Hombres	Mujeres	Niños
Isidro Alvarado.....	30	Sn. José	Campista	Angeles	C. id	1	1	—
Micaela Avila.....	25	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Dolores Alvarado.....	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Tomás Alvarado.....	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Lugarda Alvarado.....	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Andrez Alvarado.....	4 meses	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Antonio Duarte.....	32	—	Campista	Sn. Diego	C.	1	—	—
Ma. Ríos.....	13	Sta. Ana	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Dolores Ríos.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Matías Ríos.....	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Jacinto Ríos.....	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Tomás Yorba.....	47	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
Vicenta Sepúlveda.....	29	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Juan Yorba.....	13	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
José Antonio Yorba.....	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Josefa Yorba.....	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ramona Yorba.....	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Patricio Bonia.....	50	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
Dominga Bustamante.....	34	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Antonio Ma. Bonia.....	16	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
José de Jesús Bonia.....	12	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
Silbestre Cañedo.....	40	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
María Verdugo.....	37	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
José Antonio Cañedo.....	12	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
José Tomás Cañedo.....	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ma. Antonia Cañedo.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ma. Ramona Cañedo.....	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Diego Sepúlveda.....	25	—	Ranchero L.	Angeles	C. id	1	—	—
Ma. Elisalde.....	27	Iucaipa	—	Sn. Diego Angeles	—	—	1	—
Teodosio Sepúlveda.....	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Esperanza Sepúlveda.....	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Vicente Rosas.....	7	—	—	S. Gabriel	—	—	—	1
Modesta Rosas.....	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
José Bermudes.....	70	—	L.	Vaja Calif. Angeles	C. id	1	—	—
Ma. Armenta.....	30	—	—	—	S. id	1	—	—
José Bermudes.....	16	—	L. id	—	—	1	—	—
Cecundino Bermudes.....	15	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Rafael Bermudes.....	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Miguel Bermudes.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1

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Nombres	Edad	Residencia	Profesión	Natural de	Estado	Hombres	Mujeres	Niños
Miguel Rosas.....	8	Yucaipa	—	Angeles	—	—	—	—
Ysidoro Albire.....	26	id	Sirbiente	id	S.	1	—	1
José Anto. Rillos.....	20	—	id	—	id	—	—	—
Catarina Berdugo.....	12	—	—	—	S.	1	—	—
Maria Berdugo.....	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Refugio Berdugo.....	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Catarina Berdugo.....	40	Sta. Ana	—	S. Diego	V.	—	1	—
Domingo Yorba.....	16	—	Campista	—	S.	1	—	—
Dolores Yorba.....	13	—	—	S. Juan	S.	—	1	—
Carlos Berdugo.....	40	—	Sirbiente	Sn. Diego	S.	1	—	—
Felipe Lopes.....	18	—	id	id	id	1	—	—
David de Alejandro.....	35	Rincón	Labrador	Estados Unidos	C.	1	—	—
Guadalupe.....	28	—	—	N. Méjico	id	—	1	—
Concepción hijo de Guadalupe.....	13	—	L.	id	S.	1	—	—
Miguel Martín.....	45	—	Labrador	N. Méjico	C.	1	—	—
Ma. de Jesús N.....	25	—	—	id	id	—	1	—
Luis Martín.....	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Nicolás Martín.....	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ma. Luz Martín.....	14	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Santiago Martines.....	47	S. Bernardina	Labrador	N. Méjico	C.	1	—	—
Manuela Martines.....	37	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
Lionor Martines.....	15	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Nasario Martines.....	13	—	L.	—	—	1	—	—
Demetrio Martines.....	11	—	L.	—	S.	1	—	—
Polinario Martines.....	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Florentina Martines.....	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Guadalupe Martines.....	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ma. Anta., Buérfana.....	24	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Guadalupe, Buérfana.....	18	—	—	N. Méjico	id	—	1	—
Juan Pablo, Buérfano.....	12	—	—	id	S.	1	—	—
José Ma. Sierra.....	22	—	Sirbiente	—	—	—	—	—
Sisto Martines.....	31	—	id	N. Méjico	id	1	—	—
Ruperta Martines.....	19	—	L.	N. Méjico	C.	1	—	—
Benigno Martines.....	5	—	—	—	C.	—	1	—
Ma. Teodora.....	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Manuela Martines.....	13	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Guadalupe Martines.....	12	—	—	—	S.	1	—	—
Juan José Apodaca.....	45	—	Sirbiente	N. Méjico	—	—	—	—
Juan Martín.....	25	—	id	—	C.	1	—	—
		—	L.	—	—	1	—	—

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Nombres	Edad	Residencia	Profesión	Natural de	Estado	Hombres	Mujeres	Niños
Ma. Anta. Belarde.....	25	S. Bernardino	—	N. Méjico	C.	—	1	—
Encarnación Martines.....	1	—	—	Angeles	—	—	—	1
Manuela Doméstica.....	12	—	—	N. Méjico	S.	—	1	—
Miguel Belarde.....	60	—	L.	N. Méjico	C.	1	—	—
Concepción Durán.....	58	—	—	N. Méjico	id	—	1	—
José Ma. Belarde.....	29	—	L.	N. Méjico	S.	1	—	—
Ygnacio Belarde.....	20	—	id	id	id	1	—	—
Tomás de Aquino Belarde.....	18	—	L.	—	S.	1	—	—
Ma. Paula Belarde.....	22	—	—	N. Méjico	S.	—	1	—
Ma. Luisa Belarde.....	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ramón Belarde.....	36	—	L.	—	C.	1	—	—
Dilubina Aragón.....	29	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
Juan Rafael Belarde.....	11	—	L.	—	S.	1	—	—
Ygnacio Belarde.....	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ma. Juana Belarde.....	1	—	—	Angeles	—	—	—	1
Guadalupe, Vuérana.....	10	—	—	N. Méjico	S.	—	1	—
Feliciana Valdez.....	50	—	—	—	V.	—	1	—
Guadalupe, Vuérana.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Apolito Espinosa.....	34	—	—	N. Méjico	C.	1	—	—
Manuela Girón.....	30	—	Labrador	—	id	—	1	—
José Juan Jaramillo.....	25	—	L.	—	C.	1	—	—
Ma. de la Luz Martínez.....	20	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
José de Jesús Jaramillo.....	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Juan Jaramillo.....	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Anto. García.....	48	—	Labrador	Angeles	C.	1	—	—
Ma. Luisa Lusero.....	45	—	—	N. Méjico	id	—	1	—
Juan Cristóbal García.....	29	—	L.	—	id	1	—	—
Marcelino García.....	20	—	L.	—	S.	1	—	—
Esteban García.....	18	—	L.	—	id	1	—	—
Julián García.....	13	—	id	—	id	1	—	—
Florentina García.....	16	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Ma. Dolores García.....	12	—	Sirbiente	—	S.	—	1	—
Rafaela García.....	17	—	id	—	id	—	1	—
Calletana García.....	14	—	id	—	S.	—	1	—
Soleda, Vuérana.....	12	—	id	—	—	—	1	—
Roque Ortega.....	20	—	Sirbiente	—	S.	1	—	—
Juan Gallego.....	25	—	id	—	S.	1	—	—
Benito Vijil.....	14	—	—	—	S.	1	—	—
Rafael Blanco.....	43	—	Sirbiente	—	S.	1	—	—
Gregoria García.....	30	—	Labrador	—	C.	—	1	—

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Nombres	Edad	Residencia	Profesión	Natural de	Estado	Hombres	Mujeres	Niños
Lorenzo Trugillo.....	51	S. Bernardino	Labrador	N. Méjico	C. id	1	—	—
Ma. Dolores Archuleta.....	45	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Teodoro Trugillo.....	25	—	L.	—	S.	1	—	—
Equipula Trugillo.....	22	—	L.	—	S.	1	—	—
Doroteo Trugillo.....	20	—	—	—	S.	1	—	—
Julían Trugillo.....	17	—	—	—	id	—	—	—
Gertrudes Trugillo.....	12	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Ma. del Rosario Trugillo.....	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Luis Loa (Slover).....	60	—	L.	—	C.	1	—	—
Ma. Bárbara Aragón.....	31	—	—	—	C.	—	1	—
Tomás Aragón.....	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
María Aragón.....	14	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Manuel Espinosa.....	27	—	—	—	S.	1	—	—
Juan Roland.....	47	R. de la Puente	Sirbiente	Estados Unidos	S.	1	—	—
Encarnación Martines.....	35	id	L.P.	N. Méjico	C.	—	1	—
Margarita Roland.....	11	id	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Luz Martínez.....	11	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
Juan Roland.....	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Tomás Roland.....	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Roberto Roland.....	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Julían Roland.....	5 meses	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ramón Copas huérano.....	14	—	—	Angeles	—	—	—	—
Juan Reid.....	24	—	L.	N. Méjico	S.	1	—	—
Neves Reid.....	14	—	L.	Estados Unidos	C.	1	—	—
Margarita Reid.....	7	—	—	N. Méjico	C.	—	1	—
Julían Williams.....	44	—	L.	—	—	—	—	1
Anto. Ma. Williams.....	6	—	—	E. Unidos	V.	1	—	—
Ma. Merce Williams.....	4	—	—	Angeles	—	—	—	1
Francisca Williams.....	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Santiago Cruz.....	45	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
José Ma. Morales.....	35	—	Sirbiente	—	n.	1	—	—
Maria de Jesús N.....	23	—	id	n.	C.	1	—	—
Ramón Adarga.....	38	—	—	Masatlan	C.	—	1	—
Carlos Johnson.....	40	—	Labrador	S. Diego	C.	—	1	—
Juan Baldwin.....	30	—	Herrero	Vaja Calif.	V.	1	—	—
Daniel Sexton.....	25	—	Carpintero	E. Unidos	S.	1	—	—
Juan Mensiguen.....	25	—	id	id	id	1	—	—
Santiago Haris.....	35	—	Labrador	id	S.	1	—	—
Ma. Matilda N.....	31	—	Herrero	id	C.	1	—	—
		—	—	—	C.	—	1	—

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<i>Nombres</i>	<i>Edad</i>	<i>Residencia</i>	<i>Profesión</i>	<i>Natural de</i>	<i>Estado</i>	<i>Hombres</i>	<i>Mujeres</i>	<i>Niños</i>
Ma. Benita Aris.....	24	Sta. Ana del Chino	—	S. Diego	S.	—	1	—
Henrique Aris.....	20	—	L.	—	—	1	—	—
Juan de la Cruz Aris.....	18	—	L.	—	—	1	—	—
Gerónimo Aris.....	16	—	L.	—	S.	1	—	—
Franco. Sepúlveda.....	67	Angeles	Labrador	Sinaloa	C.	1	—	—
Ramona Serrano.....	57	—	—	Angeles	—	—	1	—
Ysabel Sepúlveda.....	25	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
José del Carmen Sepúlveda.....	22	—	Campista	—	S.	1	—	—
Manuel Sepúlveda.....	20	—	id	—	id	1	—	—
Dolores Sepúlveda.....	18	—	id	—	id	1	—	—
Juan María Sepúlveda.....	16	—	id	—	S.	1	—	—
Ma. Concepción Sepúlveda.....	14	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
Bartolomé Vidal.....	40	—	Labrador	Méjico	C.	1	—	—
Franca. Mendosa.....	34	—	—	Monterey	id	—	1	—
Rafael Vidal.....	18	—	L.	id	S.	1	—	—
Seledonia Vidal.....	17	—	—	id	id	—	1	—
Dolores Vidal.....	16	—	L.	id	id	1	—	—
Guadalupe Vidal.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Justo Vidal.....	5	—	—	Angeles	—	—	—	1
Mauricio Vidal.....	3	—	—	Angeles	—	—	—	1
Franco. Yguera.....	22	—	Campista	—	S.	1	—	—
Secundino Yguera.....	20	—	Sapatero	—	S.	1	—	—
Ramón Manríques.....	33	—	Sirbiente	—	S.	1	—	—
Pedro Mendes.....	33	—	Herrero	—	C.	1	—	—
Concepción Blanco.....	23	—	—	S. Diego	C.	—	1	—
Juan B. Mendes.....	8	—	—	Angeles	—	—	—	1
Ma. Felipa Mendes.....	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Mariano Mendes.....	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Nasario Dominguez.....	36	S. Pedro	Ranchero	S. Diego	C.	1	—	—
Ma. Antonia Castelo.....	27	id	—	Vaja Calif.	C.	—	1	—
José Ramón Dominguez.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ma. de los Reyes Dominguez.....	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Juan María Dominguez.....	5	—	—	Angeles	—	—	—	1
José del Rosario Dominguez.....	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
José Dolores Dominguez.....	2	—	—	Angeles	—	—	—	1
José L. Sepúlveda.....	28	S. Pedro	Campista	Angeles	C.	1	—	—
Ma. Sesaria Pantoja.....	24	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
José Dolores Sepúlveda.....	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ma. Petra Sepúlveda.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1

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Nombres	Edad	Residencia	Profeción	Natural de	Estado	Hombres	Mugeres	Niños
Luisa Gonzaga Sepúlveda.....	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Juan B. Sepúlveda.....	3	S. Pedro	—	Angeles	—	—	—	1
Francisco Sepúlveda.....	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
agregado José de Jesús Cota.....	14	—	Sirbiente	—	S.	1	—	—
Ma. de los Angeles Oribes.....	12	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Tiburcio Albares.....	53	—	Sirbiente	Monterey	S.	1	—	—
Antonio Machado.....	54	—	L.	S. Diego	C.	1	—	—
Ma. Yga. Avila.....	46	—	—	—	C.	—	1	—
José Anto. Machado.....	18	—	Campista	Angeles	S.	1	—	—
José Dolores Machado.....	16	—	id	—	S.	1	—	—
Miguel Machado.....	13	—	id	—	S.	1	—	—
Maria Engracia Machado.....	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ma. Elena Machado.....	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Gertrudis, Buérftana.....	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Leoncio Alipas.....	21	—	*N.*	S. Diego	S.	1	—	—
Joaquín Ruiz.....	52	—	Campista	—	C.	1	—	—
Quirina Albares.....	33	Bolsas	—	—	C.	—	1	—
Andrés Ruiz.....	18	—	L.	—	C.	1	—	—
Eustaquio Ruiz.....	16	—	Labrador	—	S.	1	—	—
Rafael Ruiz.....	15	—	—	—	S.	1	—	—
José Antonio Ruiz.....	12	—	—	—	id	1	—	—
Dolores Ruiz.....	9	—	—	Angeles	id	—	—	1
Ramón Ruiz.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Maria Ruiz.....	11	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Anselmo Ruiz.....	34	—	—	—	S.	1	1	—
Juan P. Peralta.....	36	Sta. Ana	L.P.	S. Diego	S.	1	—	—
Niebes López.....	30	—	L.P.	Angeles	C.	1	—	—
Ma. Peralta.....	9	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
Maria Anta. Peralta.....	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Tenidad Peralta.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Soledad Peralta.....	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Maria Peralta.....	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ramón Peralta.....	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Felipe Peralta.....	30	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
José Peralta.....	27	Angl.	Sirbiente	—	S.	1	—	—
Rafael Peralta.....	25	Sta. Ana	Labrador	—	id	1	—	—
Paula Peralta.....	24	—	id	—	id	—	—	—
Josefa Peralta.....	20	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Candelaria Peralta.....	18	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—

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Nombres	Edad	Residencia	Profesión	Natural de	Estado	Hombres	Mujeres	Niños
Gertrudis Peralta.....	6 meses	Sta. Ana	—	Ange.	V.	—	—	1
Catarina Ruiz.....	50	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Catarina Manriques.....	24	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
José Manriquez.....	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Presentación Manriquez.....	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Anto. Bustamante.....	19	—	Sirbiente	—	S.	1	—	—
Guillermo Suñiga.....	53	—	*N.*	—	V.	1	—	—
Pedro Peres.....	25	—	L.P.	—	C.	1	—	—
Ma. del Rosario Pantoja.....	19	Sta. Gertrudis	—	—	id	—	1	—
José Anto. Peres.....	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
José Dolores Peres.....	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Juan Peres.....	21	—	Labrador	—	S.	1	—	—
Tomasa Ontiberos.....	37	—	N.	—	C.	—	1	—
Juan Peres.....	55	—	L.P.	—	C.	1	—	—
Juan Ontiberos.....	50	Sta. Ana	L.P.	—	C.	1	—	—
Marina Osuna.....	43	—	—	Sta. Bárbara	C.	—	1	—
Patrisio Ontiveros.....	15	—	L.	Angeles	S.	—	—	—
Ramón Ontiveros.....	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Juan Ontiveros.....	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Florentino Ontiveros.....	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Salbador Ontiveros.....	2 meses	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Petra Ontiveros.....	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Dolores Ontiveros.....	12	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
P. Hugo Reid.....	33	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Carlos Reid.....	6	S. Gabriel	Labrador	Escocés	C.	1	—	—
Juan Joullin.....	9	—	—	S. Gabriel	—	—	—	1
Santo M. Deve (Dove).....	30	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Tomás Staton.....	71	—	Sirbiente	Ynglaterra	S.	1	—	—
Andrés Anderson.....	41	—	Tomolero	id	V.	—	—	—
José Sepúlveda.....	40	S. Joaquín	Carpintero	América	S.	1	—	—
Francisca Avila.....	39	—	Campista	Angeles	C.	—	—	—
Franca. Sepúlveda.....	17	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Tomasa Sepúlveda.....	16	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
José Miguel Sepúlveda.....	15	—	—	—	S.	—	—	—
Maurisio Sepúlveda.....	14	—	—	—	S.	—	—	—
Francisco Sepúlveda.....	12	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Joaquín Sepúlveda.....	11	—	Campista	—	S.	1	—	—
Bernabé Sepúlveda.....	10	—	id	—	S.	—	—	—
Andronico Sepúlveda.....	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Antonio Ygnacio Sepúlveda.....	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	1

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Ramona Sepúlveda.....	7	S. Joaquín	—	Angeles	—	—	—	1
José Orosco.....	37	id	Sirbiente	Sonora	S.	1	—	—
Anto. Ma. Lugo.....	69	Angeles	Ranchero	Sta. Barbara	C.	1	1	—
Ma. Germán.....	16	—	—	Angeles	—	—	—	1
Miguel Lugo.....	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
José Anto. Lugo.....	18	—	Campista	—	S.	1	—	—
Merce Lugo.....	26	—	—	—	V.	—	1	—
Franca.....	16	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
José Ma. Lugo.....	42	—	Campista	Sonora	C.	1	—	—
Ma. Anta. Rendon.....	40	—	—	Angeles	C.	—	1	—
Pilar Lugo.....	19	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
José Anto. Lugo.....	16	—	Campista	—	—	1	—	—
Francisco Lugo.....	14	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
José Franco. Lugo.....	12	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
Luis Lugo.....	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ma. Dolores Lugo.....	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
José Lugo.....	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Felipe Lugo.....	35	—	Campista	—	C.	1	—	—
Franca. Peres.....	30	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Felipa Lugo.....	12	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Rafael Lugo.....	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Maria Anta. Lugo.....	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Soleda Lugo.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ma. Ysidora Lugo.....	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ma. de Jesús Lugo.....	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ma. Peres.....	15	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Pulqueria Peres.....	12	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Bacilia Peres.....	18	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Matias Pantoja.....	26	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Fisar.....	57	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
José del Carmen Lugo.....	34	—	Sirbiente	S. Diego	S.	1	—	—
Rafaela Avila.....	37	S. Bernardino	Carpintero	E. Unidos	S.	1	—	—
Acensión Lugo.....	9	—	Campista	Angeles	C. id	1	1	—
Petra Lugo.....	8	—	—	Monterey	id	—	—	1
Vicenta Lugo.....	7	—	—	Angeles	—	—	—	1
Tiburcio Lopes.....	35	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ma. de los Angl. Guillen.....	33	—	Sirbiente	—	C. id	1	—	—
Yginio Lopes.....	13	—	—	—	S. id	1	1	—
Pedro Lopes.....	12	—	—	—	id	1	—	—

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Ma. de Jesús Lopes.....	11	Sn. Bernardino	—	Angeles	S.	—	1	—
Encarnación Lopes.....	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Felipe Lopes.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Juan de Dios Lopes.....	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Fecundo Lopes.....	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Jacinto Pérez.....	24	—	Sirbiente id	—	S.	1	—	—
Joaquín Albarado.....	48	—	—	—	C.	1	—	—
José León.....	50	—	—	—	C.	1	—	—
Vicente Lugo.....	23	—	Campista	—	C. id	1	—	—
Andrea Ballesteros.....	18	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
7 meses								
Anto. María Lugo.....	40	—	—	—	C.	1	—	1
Trenidad Duarte.....	38	—	Sirbiente	S. Diego	C. id	1	—	—
Ma. Yga. Berdugo.....	15	—	Sirbiente	—	S.	1	—	—
Angel Duarte.....	14	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Ma. de Jesús Duarte.....	12	—	—	—	id	1	—	—
Vicente Duarte.....	67	Angl.	L.P.	Francia id	V.	1	—	—
Luis Vignesa.....	57	—	—	—	S.	1	—	—
Pedro Vignesa.....	53	—	Sirbiente	—	—	1	—	—
Franco. Lepoejo.....	43	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
Nicolás Lepoejo.....	33	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
Olndre Mosno.....	30	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
Juan Weano.....	25	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
Antonio Labori.....	24	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
Pedro Domec (Domec).....	25	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
Ramón Valenzuela.....	35	—	—	Angeles América	—	1	—	—
Juan Jons.....	30	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
Jons.....	38	—	—	—	V.	1	—	—
Pedro.....	29	—	—	—	S.	1	—	—
Wuana.....	39	—	—	América América id	—	1	—	—
Luis Bruculez.....	32	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
Luis Bruculez.....	28	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
Jons.....	40	—	—	—	C. id	1	—	—
José Serrano.....	34	—	—	Angeles	—	—	1	—
Petra Avila.....	15	—	—	—	S.	—	1	—
Concepción Serrano.....	12	—	—	—	S.	1	—	—
Cornelio Serrano.....	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Juan Pablo Serrano.....		—	—	—	—	—	—	—

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Ysabel Serrano.....	9	Angeles	—	Angeles	—	—	—	1
Joaquín Serrano.....	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Reyes Serrano.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Francisco Serrano.....	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Manuel Requena.....	44	Angeles	L. Propietario	Yucatán	C.	1	—	—
Gertrudis Guirado.....	30	—	—	Alamos	id	—	1	—
Secundino Valenzuela.....	34	—	Campista	Angeles	C.	1	—	—
Ana Josefa Avila.....	29	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
Maria Valenzuela.....	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Julio Valenzuela.....	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Felipe Valenzuela.....	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Perfecto Valenzuela.....	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Tomasa Valenzuela.....	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
José Felipe Valenzuela.....	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ylario Barelás.....	33	—	Labrador	—	Soltero	1	—	—
Manuel Germán.....	37	—	Campirano	Monterey	C.	1	—	—
Felipa Ruiz.....	34	—	—	Angeles	id	—	1	—
Calletano Germán.....	13	—	—	—	S.	1	—	—
José Antonio Germán.....	11	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
Guadalupe Germán.....	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Manuel Germán.....	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Dolores Germán.....	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Francisca Germán.....	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Juan Albitre.....	38	Misión Vieja	L.	—	C.	1	—	—
Tomasa Albarado.....	36	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Reimundo Albitre.....	24	—	L.	—	S.	1	—	—
Anastasio Albitre.....	22	—	—	—	id	1	—	—
Diego Albitre.....	12	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
Maria Albitre.....	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Juana Albitre.....	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Jacinto Albitre.....	48	—	L.	—	C.	1	—	—
Lugarda Moreno.....	38	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
Tomás Albitre.....	12	—	—	—	S.	1	—	—
Polonio Albitre.....	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Felipe Albitre.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Maria Albitre.....	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	1

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Nombres	Edad	Residencia	Profesión	Natural de	Estado	Hombres	Mujeres	Niños
Claudio Albitre.....	33	Misión Vieja	Labrador	Angeles	C.	1	—	—
Asención Valenzuela.....	36	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Presentación Albitre.....	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Maria Albitre.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Anastacio Albitre.....	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Juana Albitre.....	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ysidoro Albitre.....	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Antonio Valenzuela.....	47	—	Campirano	—	C.	1	—	—
Dominga Albitre.....	34	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
José Valenzuela.....	15	—	—	—	S.	1	—	—
Julio Berdugo.....	60	S. Rafael	L.P.	—	C.	1	—	—
Ma. de Jesús Romero.....	44	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Pedro Berdugo.....	23	—	Campirano	—	S.	1	—	—
José Antonio Berdugo.....	20	—	id	—	id	1	—	—
Antonio Maria Berdugo.....	17	—	id	—	id	1	—	—
Crisóstomo Berdugo.....	16	—	L.	—	—	1	—	—
Teodoro Berdugo.....	13	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
Fernando Berdugo.....	12	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
José Ma. Berdugo.....	11	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
Quirino Berdugo.....	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Rafael Berdugo.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Guillermo Berdugo.....	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Victorio Berdugo.....	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Longina Berdugo.....	14	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Fernando Sepúlveda.....	28	—	Campirano	—	C.	1	—	—
Rafaela Berdugo.....	24	—	—	—	id	—	1	—
Juan Andrada.....	37	—	Sirbiente	Vaja Calif.	S.	1	—	—
Catarina Berdugo.....	57	—	—	Angeles	—	—	1	—
Josefa Berdugo.....	64	Angeles	—	id	V.	—	1	—
Luis Arenas.....	50	—	Labrador	Sonora	C.	1	—	—
Josefa Palomares.....	27	—	—	Angeles	id	—	—	—
Calletano Arenas.....	16	—	—	Sonora	S.	1	—	—
Francisco Arenas.....	6	—	—	Angeles	—	—	—	—
Merce Avila.....	12	—	—	Angeles	S.	—	—	1
Domingo Salgado.....	10	R. de la Merce	Sirbiente	—	S.	—	1	—
Juan Ochoa.....	40	—	—	Sonora	—	—	—	—
Franco. Granillo.....	25	—	L.	—	C.	1	—	—
Nicolás Dias.....	40	—	—	—	S.	1	—	—
José Ma. Ramires.....	20	—	—	—	S.	1	—	—

TOTALS: Hombres, 627; Mujeres, 500; Niños, 720. Total population, 1,847

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Some Notes on the **1844 Padron de Los Angeles**

By Thomas Workman Temple, II



FIRST HAD OCCASION to copy the 1844 Padron in 1940 while gathering material for the Workman-Rowland Party Centennial of the following year, 1841-1941. I was disappointed not to find listed therein, my great-grandfather, Don Julián Workman and the family household at Rancho La Puente where he had built his adobe in 1842. Don Juan Rowland (777) and his large family were the only people enumerated at this rancho. On closer examination, I also failed to find Gil Ybarra at adjoining Rancho Rincón de la Brea in Brea Canyon, and there were others found in the 1836 Padron and the 1850 Census but who do not appear in the 1844 Mexican Census.

I knew that California's first bishop, Dn. Fr. Francisco García Diego y Moreno had administered the sacrament of confirmation at the Pueblo Church in March of 1843 and the names of those confirmed, their parents, and godparents I had copied years before. Grandmother, Antonia Margarita Workman y Urioste, had Doña Isidora Pico de Forster as "madrina" — godmother — but Don Juan Forster, known to be living in San Juan Capistrano in 1844, also does not appear here, along with Teodosio Yorba, Tomás Sánchez Colima, Michael White and others. Thus the 1844 enumeration is not as complete as it should be, but all other details are carefully put down to give us a picture of the adobe Pueblo and the far-flung ranchos under its jurisdiction, just a few years before the Mexican War.

Living in 1844 were the senior citizens who had witnessed the beginnings of the pueblo since 1781, and one who had arrived as a child of 2 when her parents had settled at Mission San Gabriel Arcángel in 1778 by the time Padre Junípero Serra had arrived on his first confirmation tour of the southern missions. She was María Luisa Cota (755), daughter of the late Roque Jacinto de Cota and Juana María Verdugo y Carrillo, and widow of the famed mission Mayordomo, Claudio López.

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The oldest resident was Gabriela Silvas (739), 86, widow of Francisco Sotelo, who had accompanied her mother María Pascuala Lugo and family from La Villa de Sinaola to San Diego in 1782. Her father, José Miguel Silvas had come with Captain Anza in 1776 and settled in the Royal Presidio of San Francisco, whose beginnings he had witnessed.

Those who had arrived at San Gabriel in July and August of 1781 as “Pobladores” or their escort across the Gulf of California from the Río Mayo to Loreto to San Diego, or from the Yuma pueblos in another contingent that escaped the Yuma Massacre, were growing old gracefully in the pueblo or its environs.

María Lobo (740), widow of the soldier José María Monroy, had come with her parents José Villalobo and María Nicolasa Beltrán, escorting the pueblo founders along with 16 other soldiers and their families.

Carmen Rochin (753), was the widow of José Clemente Navarro, of the Poblador family, and as a child of 2 with her parents had escaped Yuma war clubs on the bloody Río Colorado. Her late husband’s brother, José María Navarro (755) was for many years sacristán of the Plaza Church in the pueblo.

Guadalupe (de) Moreno (771), whose maiden name was Pérez, was the widow of the Poblador José Moreno, and had married Pedro Pérez some 40 years before at the Mission.

José (de la Cruz) Bermúdez (774), whose birthplace is incorrectly listed as Baja California, was born at the Royal Presidio of Tubac, Sonora. He and his brother, Juan Hilario Bermúdez, (my mother’s ancestor) had accompanied their mother, María Rita Zamora, and step-father, Juan Ygnacio Valencia. The latter had been with Captain Anza on his first “entrada” from Sonora to San Gabriel in March of 1774 and been awarded by the King, an “Escudo de Ventaja” — a reward of a few extra pesos a year, along with his brave companions on the hazardous trail-blazing expedition, whose success had made their leader a lieutenant colonel.

Máximo Alanis (760), was the only surviving “Soldado del Rey” — soldier of the king, then in his 84th year, who had helped escort the Pobladores from El Real de Los Alamos, Sonora, to San Diego. On our recent visit to the beautiful colonial town, Gabriela and I found in the parochial archives, the record of his first marriage as a young recruit to Juana María Miranda y Hurtado in 1780. Becoming a widower in 1816, his next wife was Juana Reyes,

daughter of Juan Francisco Reyes and María Luisa del Carmen Domínguez. Don Juan Francisco had helped construct the Royal "Paquebots," *San Carlos* and *San Antonio*, on the Río Santiago near San Blas in 1768. They took a gallant part next year in the "Santa Expedición" that effected the Spanish occupation by sea of Alta California.

Last but not least of the 1781 arrivals was Francisco Sepúlveda (778) a boy of 6 when the pueblo was founded, accompanying his parents Francisco Xavier Sepúlveda and María Candelaria Arredondo, also escorting the Pobladores.

María Rosalía Ochoa (737) was the widow of Corporal Pedro Polloreña, both having come up from the Royal Presidio of Loreto, Baja California, to that of San Diego in 1792. In 1798 Polloreña took over José María Verdugo's important charge as corporal of the guard at San Gabriel Arcángel, retiring in 1805 to the pueblo.

María Ygnacia Amador (755) was the widow of Francisco Xavier Alvarado I, founder of the southern branch of the family, had settled at the Royal Presidio of Santa Bárbara in 1788, shortly after their marriage in Baja California. She was the daughter of Sergeant Pedro Amador, veteran of the 1769 expedition and of María Rosa Ruiz y Carrillo. The first Alvarado was "comisionado" of the Pueblo in 1795-1796 and again in 1809-1810, having risen to sergeant in 1805. He lies buried in the mission church of San Gabriel. María Ygnacia's oldest son, Juan Bautista Alvarado (755) was staying at her home when the Padron was taken; his wife was Raymunda Yorba y Grijalva.

Dolores Salgado (748) was the widow of Juan López de Mora, who had settled at the pueblo in 1799. He was a brother of Claudio López and father of Pedro López, ancestor of the San Fernando branch of that family.

The first of the Avilas to come to Alta California (besides Francisco Avila of 1769) was José Santa Ana Avila in 1792. He was a native of El Pueblo de Baca on the Fuerte River, east of La Villa del Fuerte in Sinaloa and the oldest son of Cornelio Avila and María Isabel de Urquídez, both Fuerteños who had crossed the Gulf of California to Loreto before 1790. They settled at Mission San Ygnacio, where their youngest son Bruno, was born in 1792. At Mission San Gabriel Arcángel, José Santa Ana on July 30, 1792, married María Josefa de Osuna, widow of the soldier José Gabriel Espinosa and daughter of the 1769 veteran Juan Ismerio de Osuna and María Ygnacia Alvarado. They became the parents of María

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Ygnacia Avila, who married José Dolores Sepúlveda of Rancho Los Palos Verdes. Having lost her young husband to Indian arrows at Mission La Purísima in 1824, she next married Antonio Machado; and of Miguel Avila whose wife was Inocencia Pico of San Luis Obispo.

Anastacio Avila (733) leads off the family in the 1844 enumeration, he and the rest of the family having accompanied their parents to Alta California in 1793, where at Mission Santa Bárbara in October of that year, Padre Lasuen confirmed his brothers, José María and Bruno, along with their cousin, José del Jesús Talamantes y Avila.

Agustina Avila (744) was the widow of Carlos Castro of Baja California and the parents of Rafaela Castro y Avila, José del Carmen Lugo's wife (781).

Bruno Avila (745) incorrectly noted as a native of Los Angeles, was born at Mission of San Ygnacio, Baja California, as stated above.

Antonio Ygnacio Avila (765), his brother-in-law, Felipe Talamantes (766) and his sister, Ildefonsa Avila (766) round out the Avila arrivals of 1793.

The following list of foreigners, mostly from North America, but Europe and South America are as well represented, gives us an idea of the cosmopolitan nature of the Pueblo, thanks to those early residents, with a variety of occupations and professions that it needed for lasting and substantial growth. Merchants, starting with Don Juan Temple in 1827, were much in evidence; his youngest brother, P. F. Temple, my grandfather, was clerking in his store in 1844, just a year before he was baptized at Mission San Gabriel in order to marry grandmother, taking the name of Francisco that his "padrino" — sponsor — Don Perfecto Hugo Reid added to his Congregationalist monicker of Pliney Fiske.

Dr. José María Money (765) and Surgeon Joaquín de los Ríos y Ruiz (769) were both already well known in the pueblo, with Vicente Moraga (739) and Ygnacio Coronel (758) as "escribanos" — both exerting their literary influence at that early date. Descendants of Manuel Castillo (748) one of the pueblo's silversmiths, still proudly display some of their ancestor's fine work in the first of California's gold, from the San Francisquito and San Feliciano Placers on the del Valle rancho. The carpenter, Fisar (781), may

well have been the negro from Pennsylvania who was at the pueblo in 1829 as appears from Guillermo Cota's *List of Foreigners* for that early year.

List of Estrangeros — Foreigners

NORTH AMERICA	ENGLAND	SPAIN
Lemuel Carpenter (746)	Guillermo Stenner (747)	Eulogio de Celis (752)
William Wolfskill (746)	William Gugarry (752)	Juan Manzo (760)
Joseph Rice (746)	Santiago Johnson (761)	José Arnaz (760)
Michael Pryor (746)	Santiago M. Dove (780)	
Harenano? (746)	Tomás Statton (780)	
Alexander Bell (752)		PORTUGAL
Ricardo Yupunet (752)		José Serradel (737)
Juan Temple (752)	SCOTLAND	Manuel López (745)
P. F. Temple (752)	José María Money (765)	Jordán Pacheco (752)
Samuel Prentice (752)	P. Hugo Reid (780)	
Abel Stearns (760) (769)		PERU
B. D. Wilson (772)		Lino Palacios (758)
Manuel Carson (772)	GERMANY	Joaquín Quintana (762)
David Alejandro (775)	Juan Domingo (758)	Juan Bandini (770)
Luis Slover (777)	Jacobo Frankfort (760)	
Juan Roland (777)		
Juan Reed (777)		
Julián Williams (777)	FRANCE	CHILE
Carlos Johnson (777)	María Sofía (753)	José María Farías (738)
Juan Baldwin (777)	Juan Bautista Barres (753)	Juan Apablaza (744)
Daniel Sexton (777)	Pedro Disuluco (754)	
Juan Mensiguen (777)	Francisco Lalleman (754)	
Santiago Harris (777)	Louis Lamoreu (760)	ITALY
Andres Anderson (780)	Louis Bauchet (760)	Matías Sabichi (740)
Fisher (781)		

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THE INDIAN POPULATION OF CENTRAL MEXICO — 1531-1610, by Sherburne F. Cook and Woodrow Borah. (University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1960). Pp. 109; paper cover. \$2.00.

This book is strictly a reference work and is the product of intensive and painstaking research. It is essentially a revision of a similar study made some ten years ago by Cook and Simpson. Since then, new primary sources have come to light. However, the later findings seem to strengthen rather than contradict the earlier conclusions. The authors consulted an exhaustive list of source material.

The book uses considerable space explaining why the study could not be exact. Since there was no actual census of the Indian population at that time, figures had to be taken wherever they could be found, from religious and civil records. These were from different towns, or territories, and at different times. They were only samplings and had to be evaluated. Church records usually referred only to the communicants, without considering the Indians who had not yet come into the church. Spanish Government rec-

ords were concerned chiefly with the Indians who paid tribute or taxes either in goods or services. Some tribes were exempt. Those still in the "wild" stage paid no tax or tribute.

In order to arrive at fairly accurate figures, the authors made dozens of tabulations and cross-tabulations — by territories, by towns, by time periods, by tribes, and by highlands and lowlands. According to the findings, the Indian population of Central Mexico was cut from approximately eleven million to a little over two million, making an over-all decline of slightly more than eighty per cent. The rate of the falling-off tended to decrease during the latter part of the period. The decline was twice as fast in the lowlands as in the highlands. Shortly after 1605, the diminuation ceased altogether.

The *causes* for the decline and final cessation was not considered in the study. — *Margaret Romer.*

PIRATES ON THE WEST COAST OF NEW SPAIN (1575-1742), by Peter Gerhard (Arthur H. Clark Co., Glendale, 1960.)

The most recent publication of Arthur H. Clark Company (Spain In the West Series) adds an extremely interesting, well-documented work to the field of Western History. With the exception of a small amount of research by Latin American scholars, the subject of Mr. Gerhard's study has scarcely been examined. Even in the more recent authoritative works of Wagner, Borah, Haring and Schurz the story of piratical activities in the Pacific has been only briefly traced.

According to Gerhard, the motive for piratical activities in both the Atlantic and Pacific Ocean was "the commercial and political rivalry between Spain on one side and England and France on the other." The situation in the Pacific Ocean during the period of Mr. Gerhard's study was particularly inviting for Spain's enemies, not only because of International alignments in Europe but also due to poor defensive fortifications or lack of escort vessels for silver shipments. Between Mexico and Peru there was a limited

amount of commercial exchange by way of Acapulco (and usually contrary to royal authority) and, there was an important development in commercial exchange between Mexico and the Philippines in the Manila galleon trade during this period.

The framework of the book is a modified international approach combined with a rather thorough geographic description of New Spain. The opening chapter presents a summary of piratical activities in the region of "New Spain" (which is somewhat generous in area) plus some account of the Spanish system of political control.

Gerhard's remaining divisions concern specific groups in the Pacific — *viz*, "Elizabethan Pirates," "The Pechelingues," and "English Privateers and Smugglers," and in addition, there are accounts of international pirate-groups in "The Buccaneers," and "The Last Pirates."

It seems appropriate to point out that in several instances there are certain

deviations from the promised assignment in the *Preface*; notably, in the author's geographic limitations. Briefly, the author promises to confine his study "to piratical and other foreign incursions on the Pacific Coast from Panama north beginning in 1575 or 1576," but the reader is in for some tedious coastal skirmishes from Valdivia on the coast of Chile to Guayaquil farther north. Next, the author's distinction between three "types of aggression employed by Spain's rivals; contraband trade, piracy and acts of war" seem entirely centered on the latter two in the text, but most likely for reasons of simplicity.

It seems regrettable for such a comprehensive work, and one of outstanding research, that the author apparently simplified many of his geographic place-names (and even vessels' names) to the point of an elementary framework and moreover, to some degree of inconsistency. Basically the criticism applies to his almost complete lack of appreciation for the Spanish element in geographic place-names which is appropriate for the area of Mexico and Central and South America — e.g., "the port of Navidad," (p. 37) "Castle of San Diego," on map, (p. 43) and the incomplete name of the vessel "Nuestra Señora del Monte Carmelo," (p. 232) by Gerhard.

Finally, the foundation for Gerhard's study has been a combination of foreign research in Spanish archives and in Mexico and also a thorough knowledge of

a body of published materials including diaries and journals.

The footnote citations render special aid in quick reference and in serving to add details to the narrative. At some points however, there is a tendency to overload the citations to the point that the reader is mystified as to its function — whether for additional information, for clarity or to cite the authority for textual material. In addition, the reader would like to find a sustained quotation within the text — but seldom does — since the author prefers to include only words or phrases from the original source, but nothing more. Such additional notations as an inaccurate bibliographical citation on the most recent theory concerning Drake's anchorage in California (Powers, Robert H., "*Portus Novae Albionis Rediscovered?*" *Pacific Discovery*, VII (May/June, 1954, 10-12) or a misprint of pagination concerning the article, "The word Pechelingue . . ." (693 *sic* 698) are too trivial to effect the broad sweep of this scholarly work. Indeed, the task of such a work has been minimized by Gerhard's organization and direct approach through each phase of "piracy," thus permitting the reader an unclouded perspective of the problems which the Spanish were attempting to overcome (but seldom carried out in long term efforts) and the antagonists who conquered numerous obstacles in their quest for treasure, fame and prestige. — *Michael E. Thurman.*

A PEEP AT WASHOE and WASHOE REVISITED, authored and illustrated by J. Ross Browne. (Paisano Press, Balboa Island, 1959.) Pp. 240, cloth. Price, \$5.50.

This is an attractive reprinting of Browne's account of his trips over the Sierra during the Nevada rush in 1860 and 1863. Browne, with the possible exception of Mark Twain, is probably the most interesting and amusing of the eye-witness reporters of the western scene. He has long been a source of pleasure to historians and students of western literature, but his writing has not been known to many casual readers. *A Peep at Washoe* appeared first as a series of articles in *HARPER'S MONTHLY*; this material and his account of a second trip to Washoe were incorporated during the sixties, with some violation of logic, as parts of two of his travel books, *CRUSOE'S ISLAND, CALIFORNIA, and WASHOE*, and *THE APACHE COUNTRY: A TOUR THROUGH ARIZONA AND SONORA*. The present volume is a happy thought, in that it makes his Washoe narratives and the sketches he made on the trips available to the or-

dinary reader, and on pages far more clean and readable than in the original editions.

After a career as sailor, writer of travel accounts, and stenographic reporter, young Browne came to California as a revenue agent. He was made recording secretary of the California Constitutional Convention because, according to one authority, he was "the only regular stenographer in the country." In 1855 he resumed government work as Inspector of Indian Affairs. But six years later he was, as he wrote, "bereft of his per diem by a formal and sarcastic note of three lines from headquarters."

The Washoe madness had just broken out in the San Francisco streets. He thought of becoming some sort of agent in the new mining area. Also a friend wanted him to go there on business. "Millions were involved in it." So Browne rolled up his blankets, packed his sketch-

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ing materials, and joined the long line of wild-eyed men staggering up the trail from Placerville, over the mountains to Carson and Virginia City.

Browne's account of this first journey, made on foot, is by far the most dramatic part of this volume. The trail along the American River was already dotted with make-shift taverns:

"Scarcely a foot of ground upon which man or beast could find a foothold was exempt from a claim. There were even bars with liquors... where no vestige of a house was yet perceptible. Board and lodging signs over tents not more than ten feet square were as common as blackberries in June..."

The way was "literally lined" with smashed stages and wagons, and an "almost continuous string of Washoeites stretched," as he reports learnedly, "like a great snake dragging its slow length along." The jam of hundreds of men in the few major stopping-places produced some memorable scenes of compacted humanity.

His trip back to California, however, presented further problems. The grade over the summit was now only a narrow trail cut through the snow, and it was frequently taken over by mule trains that plunged along the narrow ledge burdened by barrels of whisky and other necessary supplies for the diggings. Anyone in the way was knocked aside, possibly over the edge. One's only hope was to make it, if possible, to a by-pass. Browne's account of how he was almost caught shows his considerable ability to create a suspenseful scene. His second trip to Washoe three years later could now be made by stagecoach, and was very tame by comparison, as he laments. He does give us an exhilarating description of the stage racing through the night behind the team galloping down the switchbacks. What might happen to any lone traveller ahead of them, however, Browne does not now consider.

Although later Browne was to produce an official report on the mineral resources of the West, he shows here little interest in, and no sympathy with, the mining operations in Nevada. He comments, "The serious pursuits of life I regard as monstrous absurd... especially rooting in

the ground for money. The Washoe mines are nothing more than squirrel holes on a large scale." His account of Virginia City and its environment is mainly sardonic; the seeker for facts concerning the mines will get more even from Twain.

Browne is, of course, part of the tradition of frontier raconteurs that produced Twain or, in Southern California, Horace Bell. I doubt, however, that Browne is an originator of this school of writing, as Horace Parker suggests in his short introduction to this volume; it can be traced back to the early days of the tall tale, possibly to Seba Smith or the Southern humorists.

Browne, however, is among the most interesting, treating his experiences factually in general but with willingness to heighten, giving sometimes a deadpan, sardonic evaluation of the scene, and always putting entertainment first. Like Twain, he is good at building up an episode. But though he does not have the creative ability of Twain and seldom rises above a cliché-type rhetoric, he actually gives a clearer picture of the way it was physically, especially in describing towns.

Twain, in dealing with the same Washoe scenes in *ROUGHING IT*, is seldom concerned with giving details of the physical environment, unless a forest fire at Tahoe or a blizzard overwhelms him. What descriptions he gives tend to be of nature, and to be impressionistic. He goes through towns and we do not see them. Browne is interested in scenes built by man, and while he also deals with nature, we remember his taverns, the town streets, and the ruts in his roads. The almost-one hundred sketches he made on these trips, which are clearly reproduced in this volume, make an interesting comparison with those done by an artist for the original edition of *ROUGHING IT*. While both are in the tradition of the quaint cartoon, Browne's suggest a greater literalness and actuality. He prided himself upon being an observer.

The volume includes a short biography of the author from *Harper's Weekly* which is chatty but not too informative. As this book is to bring Browne to the casual reader, it is therefore too bad that Parker's brief introduction is not more extensive. — *Drew B. Palette.*

FORTS OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA, by J. S. and R. J. Whiting. (Privately Printed for the Authors by Daily News Press, Longview, Washington, 1960). Preface, Introduction, *illus.*; pp. xxiv; 90. Cloth.

"The plan of creation itself strangely provides for struggle to survive, and man was not excepted." So reads the inscription of this unusual book by J. S. and

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Richard J. Whiting, dedicated to the Armed Forces of the United States of America and especially to the United States Army.

I want to comment on some thoughts aroused by the inscription, but first of all I must point out the fund of reference information provided here on the location, activation, and the abandonment of military establishments in California. The authors have assembled in this volume a more complete record of California fort names (including non-military place names with the word "Fort" as a part of the name) than is now available elsewhere. Excerpts from official orders and records relating to these forts are included in many cases, together with especially compiled maps indicating the location of the forts. Society members will appreciate the fine pen and ink drawings of coast artillery pieces, ranging from the Spanish muzzle loaders of 1796 to the large disappearing guns of the World War I era. What an improvement in ordinance over the years as California became increasingly worthwhile defending — and attacking.

Although the subject matter of this book is primarily military in nature, the reader is led toward a better understanding of California's economic and political history. The Whitings, in their *Introduction*, point out that a number of nations have desired to secure sovereignty over California, but probably only the United States was originally concerned with its possession on grounds of national security. Following the invasion of Mexican California and pacification of the native inhabitants, most military installations designated as forts were assigned coast and harbor defense roles. The so-called "systems" of coast and harbor defense have changed over the years with improvements in placements, size and performance of weapons, and more recently the introduction of aircraft and guided missiles. We are now at a stage where fixed coastal fortifications as such are no longer maintained, although some of the forts still perform military functions. Offensive action, in theory at least, has taken over the defensive role of the old coastal batteries.

Following the *Introduction*, the authors discuss briefly the military distinctions between such terms as "fort," "post" and

"camp," and then describe the geographical organization of the U. S. Army on the Pacific Coast from 1846 to 1870. This necessary background helps us understand the material on individual forts which is presented next in alphabetical order. There is a conciseness and economy in this book, without sacrifice of important detail, which I found refreshing. It is typographically clean with a generous use of white space. Bound in green fabric stamped in gold, *FORTS OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA* is of a size and weight to suit the hand and deserves a place on the shelves of discriminating collectors.

It is still possible to see along the California coast the empty concrete emplacements of the big guns. One of my childhood memories is their distant, mysterious rumble. I didn't hear them very often. In those deceptively peaceful days, the Army could seldom afford to pay for cracked window panes. Whatever value the big guns may have had as a deterrent to attack (General Homer Lea didn't think such placements counted for much in 1909 when he published his blueprint for the Japanese invasion of California, Hawaii, and the Philippines), California's defense today rests on a combination of military and civil defense measures.

In the Whitings' book the main symbol of our historical defense is the coastal gun pointing defiantly out to sea. Today, the old emplacements stand empty and "family-size" fallout shelters are being constructed throughout the State. Perhaps this is a healthy sign that Californians can adapt their defense to the realities of the present. We know that history abundantly illustrates the necessity. I find it difficult not to read some such conclusion between the lines of this book. A conclusion implicit in Commodore Sloat's statement at the outset of our military action in California: "Flag Ship Savannah, July 7, 1846. We are about to land on the territory of Mexico, with whom the United States are at war. To strike her flag and to hoist our own in the place of it is our duty. It is not only our duty to take California, but to preserve it afterwards as a part of the United States, at all hazards." — *William Menton*.

Activities of the Society

OCTOBER MEETING

"Ghosts of the History Trail" was an exciting tale of the people connected with California newspaper history as told by Mr. Ed Ainsworth of the *Los Angeles Times*. Mr. Ainsworth's delightful book "*Enchanted Pueblo*," illustrated by Orpha Klinker, was distributed to members and guests attending the meeting.

Hostesses for the Social Hour: Mrs. John C. Wolfskill, Mrs. N. N. Edwards.

NOVEMBER MEETING

Dr. Manuel P. Servín, editor of the California Historical Society *Quarterly*, spoke on "Spanish Legal Claim to Northern Alta California" (Washington, Oregon, British Columbia, and Alaska.) Dr. Servín explained how Spain had the strongest claim to the area based on her traditional practices in International Law — namely, acquisition by sovereignty, first discovery, and solemn possession-talking.

Hostesses for the Social Hour: Mrs. Everett Gordon Hager, Mrs. Vera H. Dunning.

DECEMBER MEETING

Annual Christmas program. The more than 350 members and guests who attended this program will recall it as one of the high points of the year. The 150-member Southern California Mormon Choir, under the direction of Mr. Frederick Davis, sang traditional Christmas music, combined with church hymns which were an inspiration to all. Never to be forgotten was an encore of the rousing "Battle Hymn of the Republic."

Mr. James Allen, associate director, Church of Jesus Christ of

Latter-Day Saints Institute of Religion at the University of Southern California, spoke on "Mormons in California — Past and Present." Mr. Allen covered the coming of the Mormons to San Francisco, their settling in San Bernardino, and their place in California's history.

Hostesses for the Social Hour: Mr. James B. Allen, Mrs. Daniel Siemens, assisted by a group of ladies from the Relief Society of the Garvanza Ward of the Mormon Church.

Gifts to the Society

MISS AUGUSTINE DALLAND — Back issues of *Quarterly*.

FRANCIS J. HICKSON — “*California and Californians*,” edited by Rockwell D. Hunt, 5 volumes; “*The Days of Man*,” by David Starr Jordan (autographed), 2 volumes; Souvenir of Most Rev. D. Falconia, Apostolic Delegate to the United States, Los Angeles, May 1903; “*History of Hollywood*,” by Edwin O. Palmer, 2 volumes; “*Community Histories*,” published by Security First National Bank, bound, 1923 to 1928; “*Who’s Who in Los Angeles County*,” 1950-1957, by Alice Catt Armstrong; “*Historical Album of California*,” by Richard J. Bowe and Charles G. Bowe.

EDWARD F. MacDONOUGH — Portraits — *Ulysses S. Grant* and *Robert E. Lee*, by Napoleon Bickelman.

OTTO J. ZAHN — California Bear Flag.

New Members

PATRON

Francis J. Hickson

ANNUAL

T. Don Brandes

Jimmie L. Collester

James Farley Dixon

D. E. Livingston-Little

Long Beach State College

Miss Kate van Winden

Mrs. John R. Zimmerman

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December, 1960, meeting — Annual Christmas Program; Southern California Mormon Choir; speaker: James Allen; subject: *Mormons in California*, 427-428.

Gifts to the Society —

Received from: Mrs. Alexander Mesmer MacKenzie, Mrs. Beatrice Sabichi Mitchell, Frank B. Putnam, Justin G. Turner, Mrs. Marco R. Newmark, Miss Edna R. Frost, Miss Anita Rhoades, The Estate of Helen Tyler, Miss Clementina de Forest Griffin, Rev. John F. B. Carruthers, 100; Mrs. E. K. Allen, Mrs. Edward Canet, Arnold Domínguez, Mrs. Marco R. Newmark, Mrs. Florence D. Schoneman, J. Thomas Owen, Frank B. Putnam, Mrs. Frederic C. Ripley, W. W. Robinson, Mrs. Margaret Romer, Mrs. Carrie Rossell, Frank A. Schilling, 218; Mrs. Vera H. Dunning, Harry Muir Kurtzworth, Francis J. Hickson, Estate of Maynard McFie, Mr. Charles Puck, F. B. Putnam, Security First National Bank, Mr. Otto J. Zahn, 322-323; Miss Augustine Dalland, Francis J. Hickson, Edward F. MacDonough, Otto J. Zahn, 429.

New Members of the Society, 102, 217, 324, 430.

Historical Society of Southern California

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V	2 1901	2.50	2.50
V	3 1902	2.50	2.50
VI	1 1903	2.50	2.50
VI	2 1904	2.50	2.50
VI	3 1905	2.50	2.50
VII	1 1906	2.50	2.50
VII	2-3 1907-1908	2.50	2.50
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*Originally marked XIX in error.

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1891	I 6		

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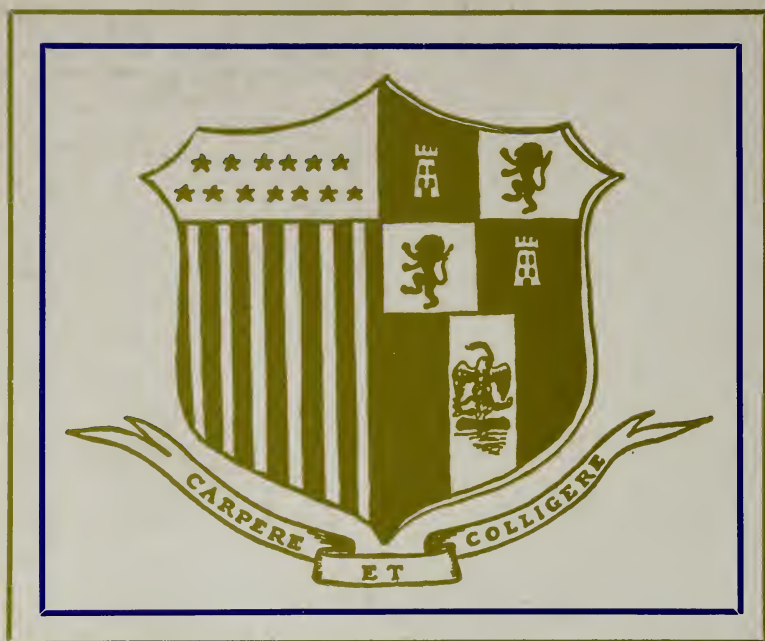
Year	Vol.	No.	Year	Vol.	No.
1935	XVII	2	1948	XXX	2
1935	XVII	3	1949	XXXI	1-2
1935	XVII	4	1949	XXXI	4
1936	XVIII	1	1950	XXXII	1
1936	XVIII	2	1950	XXXII	4
1936	XVIII	3-4	1952	XXXIV	1
1937	XIX	1	1952	XXXIV	2
1937	XIX	2	1952	XXXIV	4
1940	XXI	1	1953	XXXV	4
1940	XXII	2	1955	XXXVII	2
1941	XXIII	2	1956	XXXVIII	1
1947	XXIX	1	1957	XXXIX	2
1948	XXX	1			

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XXXII	3	September, 1950	2.00	3.00
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XXXIII	2	June, 1951	2.00	3.00
XXXIII	3	September, 1951	2.00	3.00
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